Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4172nd meeting

Monday, 17 July 2000, 10.30 a.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Robertson	(Jamaica)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Vamos-Goldman
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Texeira da Silva
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Ouane
	Namibia	Mr. Andjaba
	Netherlands	Mr. Scheffers
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Holbrooke

Agenda

The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international peacekeeping operations.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-53552S (E)

The meeting was called to order at 11.55 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international peacekeeping operations

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Indonesia, Malawi, Uganda and Zimbabwe, in which they requested to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pohan (Indonesia), Mr. Juwayeyi (Malawi), Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda) and Mr. Jokonya (Zimbabwe) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: In accordance with the understanding reached in the Council's prior consultations, and in the absence of objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to Dr. Peter Piot, Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

I invite Dr. Piot to take a seat at the Council table.

The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I should like to draw the attention of the members of the Council to document S/2000/657, which contains the text of a letter dated 5 July 2000 from the Secretary-General addressed to the President of the Security Council, transmitting a note prepared by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS that summarizes actions taken to-date as a follow-up to the Security Council meeting on HIV/AIDS in Africa held on 10 January 2000.

Members of the Council have before them document S/2000/696, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's prior consultations.

I shall now give the floor to the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, Dr. Peter Piot.

Dr. Piot: I come to you today directly from the International Conference on AIDS, in Durban, South Africa, where over 10,000 people from all over the world gathered, as they called it, to break the silence around AIDS. It was the first such conference in the South and in Africa and it generated unprecedented attention to the AIDS problem in the developing world, particularly in Africa. The meeting was opened by President Thabo Mbeki and closed by former President Nelson Mandela, who stated that

> "The challenge is to move from rhetoric to action, and action at an unprecedented intensity and scale. There is a need for us to focus on what we know works."

I believe this can be the theme for our further deliberations.

I believe that this Conference came, and is coming, at a turning point in the epidemic — particularly the epidemic in Africa, but also outside Africa. It's underlying message was one of hope; that prevention works and that there are many examples of it; and that it is possible to improve the treatment and care offered to people living with the virus. I must say that access to treatment was the main theme at the Conference.

Yet the latest news is not so good. Our report to the International Conference confirms that the AIDS epidemic continues its expansion, particularly in Africa, where there are now 16 countries in which more than one tenth of the adult population aged 15-49 is infected. The social and economic gains of the last several decades hang in the balance. No wonder AIDS is the first health and development issue to be considered a threat to global peace and security.

When I spoke to the Council last January, I outlined the relationship between AIDS and war. I brought up the issue of humanitarian aid workers and uniformed services. I suggested that they could be powerful agents of prevention if they are well trained in HIV prevention and behaviour change. Equally important, of course, they can protect themselves from HIV infection. I said that it was a matter of getting our priorities straight and of doing what we know would make a difference. The last six months have strengthened my resolve in this regard.

I will not repeat what I shared with the Council last January. Instead, I will focus on the actions we have taken to date on the basis of that discussion. But first let me assure the Council that the question of AIDS is now at the top of the agenda of the organizations making up the United Nations system, as illustrated by the debate and resolutions of the Administrative Committee on Coordination, the governing bodies of numerous agencies and programmes, the World Bank/International Monetary Fund (IMF) Development Committee in April, and as highlighted by the Secretary-General's report to the Millennium Assembly.

But what have we done in terms of more concrete actions? First, we have intensified clearing house efforts on information on AIDS in Africa within the United Nations, as requested by several members of the Council in January. One of the most comprehensive initiatives in this regard is the Country Response Monitoring Project, which will be launched this month. This effort — in collaboration with relevant Government departments and supported by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Department for International Development of the United Kingdom (DFID), and the Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) — will enable easy access through the World Wide Web to the latest summary information on the epidemic in specific countries as well as regular updates on the financial support and programmatic actions of various partners in a particular country.

Secondly, the International Partnership against AIDS in Africa, which I described in my statement to the Council last January and which was convened by the Secretary-General in December 1999, is making substantial progress. This Partnership brings together, under the leadership of African Governments, the United Nations system, donor Governments and the private and the community sectors. They all have joined forces under a common framework for action, which was endorsed last week at the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Summit of heads of State or Government in Lomé.

More importantly, I would say, the most significant progress is being made at the country level through, among other achievements, a successful round table in Malawi, which mobilized more than $100 million for AIDS in the country; the creation by the Government of special funds in Burkina Faso and Ghana; renewed community responses in Ethiopia; strategic plans in Mozambique; and the establishment of high-level national coordination councils in Tanzania and other countries.

Finally, as a follow-up to the Security Council discussions, an Inter-Agency Standing Committee working group endorsed an action plan last May which emphasizes the importance of incorporating AIDS also into humanitarian action. It addresses, *inter alia*, the role of the uniformed services and peacekeeping forces in the prevention and spread of HIV; the epidemic's potential to contribute to social instability and emergency situations; and the need to ensure minimum standards of prevention and care before, during and immediately after conflicts or disasters occur.

To implement the proposed actions, which the Standing Committee working group charged the UNAIDS secretariat with spearheading, a humanitarian coordination unit was established by that secretariat in June. Already a number of countries have been identified for the first phase of this effort. The majority are in Africa but countries in crisis and conflict in Asia, Latin America and Europe have also been included.

We have developed a matrix of the strengths of each participating agency in order to build on existing activities and avoid duplication. Country-specific plans of action for moving forward are being formulated. Multi-year budgets are being developed to support these plans, and two basic packages will be developed for AIDS prevention and care in complex emergencies. The first is for use during the acute stages of the crisis, and the second is for pre- and post-crisis situations.

Of particular interest to the Council are the intensified discussions now under way with the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, focusing on

ways to promote responsible behaviour among staff providing humanitarian aid and peacekeeping troops. Specific follow-up actions include training before and during deployment as well as the development of a United Nations medical policy on HIV/AIDS for personnel associated with United Nations missions, including the ensuring of adequate supplies of condoms. The UNAIDS Humanitarian Coordination Unit will be working closely with the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the Department of Peacekeeping Operations and a number of civil defence and military organizations in these areas.

In conclusion, let me now turn to the draft resolution on HIV/AIDS the Security Council is considering. We very much welcome the recognition that HIV/AIDS has adverse effects on all sectors of society. It is, in fact, the breadth and scope of these effects that make AIDS a threat to human security and a potentially destabilizing force worldwide.

The emphasis of the draft resolution on the uniformed services is also significant. During the last several months, the UNAIDS secretariat has sharpened its own focus on training and prevention measures among uniformed services.

In the second operative paragraph, the draft resolution urges all Member States to institute voluntary and confidential counselling and testing for HIV for members of national uniformed forces, particularly troops to be deployed to international peacekeeping missions. We agree with the authors of this draft resolution that voluntary and confidential HIV testing, accompanied by counselling, has a vital role to play in HIV prevention. The value of this approach in terms of better preventive behaviour was made clear in several studies presented at the Durban Conference. Its benefits include improved health through earlier access to care and treatment; better ability to cope with HIV-related anxiety; and motivation and support to initiate or maintain safer sexual behaviours.

To maximize the effectiveness of voluntary testing and counselling, it must be offered as one element in a comprehensive range of HIV prevention and support services. The results of voluntary testing should be confidential, provided in a non-stigmatized environment, and should include pre-test counselling, informed consent and post-test counselling. Testing without informed consent and confidentiality should be avoided, as there is no evidence that such testing achieves public-health goals. On the contrary, such practices often drive the epidemic underground and complicate other prevention measures.

There are, however, many successful counselling and testing services in many parts of the world, so Governments should make such programmes available within the uniformed services — as they should in the civilian community. UNAIDS co-sponsors and its secretariat are willing to work with Governments to ensure that the voluntary testing recommended in this draft resolution not only respects the human rights of individuals, but also achieves the goal towards which it is directed: to protect both the peacekeeping troops and the communities in which they operate.

Remarkably, AIDS is at the centre of the Council's deliberations for the second time this year. We really applaud its foresight. I thank the Council for its commitment and, finally, ask for its support. Implementing the conclusions of the Durban Conference will cost money. Last week, I told the world that beating back this epidemic in Africa alone will cost $3 billion per year for basic prevention and basic care, which is almost 10 times what is being spent today. I repeat this appeal again this morning. Commitment is vital, and resolutions will help. But the world must do more than talk about this epidemic. We must end it.

The President: I thank Dr. Piot for his statement.

Mr. Holbrooke (United States): Thank you, Sir, for making the trip from Jamaica to honour us and to highlight the significance of today's meeting by taking the chair yourself on behalf of Jamaica and on behalf of all of us. Your leadership and that of Ambassador Durrant has made today's event possible.

I want to thank also all the other countries on the Security Council who have agreed to have this unprecedented resolution on a health issue — the first in the history of the Security Council. I want to look back with the Council members on how far we have come since the beginning of January, when the very question of whether we could discuss this issue in this Chamber was before us — and since March, when we wondered we could put preambular language into a resolution. Now we have a draft resolution that, as the previous speaker just said, is of tremendous value in this fight.

I also want to especially praise the previous speaker, my friend, one of our leaders, Peter Piot, for his leadership in this field and for returning again to the Security Council today. Without his vision, his creativity and his leadership, I do not think we would be here today. I know that he has told me privately how important the Security Council's efforts are to his efforts.

I also want to bring to your attention, Sir, the fact that we have a very distinguished American delegation here with us today. It is led by three leaders of our Congress who have led the fight in the Congress for more funds for AIDS research and AIDS prevention. Carolyn Maloney, in whose Congressional district the United Nations is located, is to my right in the first row behind me. Sheila Jackson-Lee, from Houston, Texas, one of the leaders in the great fight, is with us today, as is Barbara Lee, from Oakland, California, who is our most tenacious leader, the originator of the Marshall Plan for AIDS, a proposal she submitted two years ago. She is the person who reinstated the money that some members of Congress tried to cut during last week's debate. I pay tribute to all of these people, and especially to Barbara Lee, for her tenacious and effective efforts in this area. I thank you, Sir, for giving us permission to have them join us. We also have here today Reverend Eugene Rivers and Mathilda Krim, two of the great leaders in this fight, and many other people, including some from the pharmaceutical industry, who have come to join us today.

I am really honoured that you are here, Sir, because we think that today's draft resolution is historic for the Security Council. It is certainly not the end of the process of fighting AIDS. The problem continues to get worse, as Dr. Piot has just said, and today's draft resolution marks only an important benchmark in the process. But it is particularly important for the Security Council.

I want to say at the outset to my friends who are concerned about the issue of sovereignty and about what the Security Council should and should not do, that this draft resolution in no way infringes on the sovereignty or authority of countries, but shows the collective will of the Security Council, the most important body of its sort in the world. This draft resolution legitimately extends our interest into a field that had previously not been considered. In no way do we undercut the work of our equally important Economic and Social Council; rather, we reinforce it. I would also mention that the American Secretary of Agriculture, Dan Glickman, will be addressing the Economic and Social Council this afternoon.

As recently as a year ago, as recently as seven months ago, few would have considered AIDS part of such a discussion in the Security Council. Today I think that by this action we show that it is. The world is paying attention to Durban and to the Security Council. This week's issue of *The Economist*, which came out this morning, has AIDS on the cover — another symbol of the importance of this issue to the world.

Since 10 January, when we had our new century and new millennium begin in the Security Council with the session on AIDS, chaired by the Vice-President of the United States, Al Gore, we began to acknowledge that the HIV/AIDS crisis is a threat not only in a health sense but also to the prosperity, to the people and indeed to the security of the world. In his remarks in January, Vice-President Gore reminded us that we owe it to ourselves and to each other and to future generations to fight this disease. He called on all of us to "acknowledge our moral duty and accept our grave and great responsibility to succeed". We are doing so today with this resolution, a historic resolution, as I said before, because it is the first Security Council resolution ever focused on any health issue at all, and it is appropriate that this issue is HIV/AIDS. I believe that today, 17 July, will be marked as a benchmark in the evolution of the Security Council, and it will be a vote that will illustrate our recognition that AIDS is as great a security challenge as we have faced since the founding of the United Nations.

This draft resolution also serves as an example of one of the primary purposes for which the United Nations was created more than half a century ago: to galvanize international action to meet common threats. AIDS is not just the problem of a single country. It is not just an African problem; it cannot be treated simply as a problem of a single continent. In a world defined by globalization and interdependence — two of the catchwords of the modern era — we cannot do triage by continent, and we cannot simply focus on economic interdependence; we have to recognize that while interdependence provides economic opportunities, it also can pose global threats. You cannot deny AIDS a visa; you cannot embargo it or quarantine it. You cannot stop it at a border. That is why we must work together.

This draft resolution covers many things, but it focuses appropriately on the area where the Security Council has primary responsibility and the most at stake, in particular in addressing the impact of AIDS on peacekeeping. Let me speak here an unpleasant truth. While United Nations peacekeepers perform very admirably, and while all who contribute to peacekeeping deserve our respect and admiration, it is a fact that without proper training, education and steps towards prevention, peacekeepers may also be spreading AIDS inadvertently.

I want to pause here for a moment to pay special tribute to the peacekeepers in the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone, who so marvellously and bravely battled their way to safety yesterday at Daru, and to express my great sympathy to the Indian peacekeeper, the sergeant who gave his life in that effort.

This is an example of United Nations peacekeeping at its best. But we must also recognize that HIV/AIDS can ironically produce the opposite result from what is intended.

On a personal note, I first encountered this issue in 1992 when as a private citizen I visited Cambodia and visited the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia (UNTAC) in Phnom Penh and talked at that time to Mr. Akashi and Mr. Carney and other members of the United Nations team. I was deeply impressed by their efforts, but I was disturbed by the fact that the United Nations forces were already spreading AIDS. I was so disturbed, in fact, that on 27 July 1992, as a private citizen, I wrote a letter to Mr. Akashi and Mr. Carney, raising this issue with them. I mention this because this is not, to me, a new issue, and there is a sense of grim satisfaction that we have — although much too late — come to this action. On that date, I wrote something which, if one changed the name "Cambodia" to the words "certain countries in Africa where peacekeepers are", would be true today. I hope that this draft resolution will go a long way towards ending it.

To be sure, the Security Council and the United Nations cannot require Member States to force involuntary testing of their troops. This would violate the United Nations respect for national sovereignty, but we recommend — and Dr. Piot is correct in drawing attention to paragraph 3 of the draft resolution — and urge that all countries increase their testing, especially of those troops that will be sent overseas. Once troops become part of a United Nations peacekeeping mission, the United Nations should have an obligation to provide them with education and training; to provide condoms, as the Department of Peacekeeping Operations has now started to do; and to take other actions to prevent the spread of the disease. We must avoid the supreme irony which would occur if, in the course of trying to prevent conflicts, United Nations peacekeepers spread a disease even more deadly than the conflicts themselves.

In fact, it is equally true that, in today's world, one cannot have a modern and effective military unless AIDS is taken seriously and troops are tested and educated. It makes as much sense to prepare, arm, train and protect our troops from such enemies as AIDS as it does to protect them from enemies with guns and mortars.

In the United States, incidentally, every troop sent abroad gets tested for AIDS. If a soldier tests positive, he or she stays at home to get treated. I might also add that, last week, the Congress, in conference, put $10 million into the Defense Department budget to authorize the Defense Department to participate in working with other Governments and with the United Nations on this issue, as well as with military establishments. I am pleased that this has passed the conference and I hope it will get the support of the full Congress shortly.

This draft resolution calls for a number of important measures to address the pandemic on all fronts and all continents and in all populations affected. It urges the United Nations Member States to create effective long-term domestic strategies. It calls on the United Nations to ensure robust training for peacekeepers. It urges Member States to institute voluntary and confidential testing of all military personnel, especially peacekeepers, and it asks the Secretary-General to develop the means to track nations' policies in military forces around the world.

These are all significant steps, but while peacekeeping is the draft resolution's primary focus, the ultimate goal must be to increase international intensity and coordination against HIV/AIDS across the board. The fight against AIDS is not the Security Council's alone. It must be waged at every level in every agency throughout the United Nations system: in the Economic and Social Council, in the United

Nations Children's Fund, in the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in the United Nations Development Programme, in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations; by everyone behind a desk in Geneva and New York; and by every humanitarian worker in the field. The challenge of AIDS far surpasses the ability of any of us alone. It will require a combined commitment, our cooperation, our creativity and our resources.

Let me stress again that today's action is significant and it is groundbreaking, but it is only a beginning. We welcome today's meeting and we hope that you, Sir, will invite Dr. Piot to return to visit us periodically. I would draw to your attention the fact that he is here more or less on schedule, as was suggested in the January meetings by several of the ambassadors here today.

Today's effort should strengthen our resolve. In the days ahead, we will have an opportunity to take further action, including at the Millennium Summit and in the upcoming session of the General Assembly. Let us commit ourselves to bringing the same sense of determination and cooperation then that we have shown today. Again, I thank you, Sir, for making the trip here today, and Dr. Piot, his team and all the people who work so hard on this issue. We in the Security Council are honoured to be able to join the fight to highlight the fact that it is more than a health problem and to help accelerate this battle. I want simply to underline my personal view that, of all the problems we face in the world today — and there are many: the conflicts we are here to try to prevent or contain; nuclear proliferation; population issues; environmental issues; and social and economic issues — I think that this is the most serious problem we face because of the damage it can do to everything else.

The President: I thank the representative of the United States for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): Thank you, Sir, for convening this meeting. Your presence here is a clear demonstration of the importance that you yourself and your Government attach to finding a common solution to the scourge of HIV/AIDS. Let me also thank the United States delegation, and in particular my dear friend and colleague Ambassador Holbrooke, for their vision and continued leadership on this matter.

I also wish to take this opportunity to welcome in our midst the high-powered delegation from the United States Congress. It is most welcome; its presence here today is a clear demonstration of its members' commitment to the eradication of the AIDS pandemic facing us today.

Our gratitude also goes to Dr. Piot for his tireless efforts and for the very informative briefing he provided us this morning.

This second meeting of the Security Council on HIV/AIDS will culminate in the adoption of a resolution that we hope will contribute to the ongoing efforts aimed at addressing the pandemic. Indeed, there are many players in this field and, in our view, the concerted efforts of all concerned should lead to the eradication of this dreadful evil.

Many countries that are heavily affected by the pandemic, including my own, Namibia, have acknowledged the severity of HIV/AIDS and its impact on our populations and have demonstrated the necessary political commitment for the prevention of the pandemic. However, prevention alone is not sufficient, given the large numbers of people already infected with the virus. Due to a lack of resources and the inaccessibility of HIV drugs, not much progress has been attained in the treatment of the disease. Thus, Governments cannot do much for the people already infected, who are therefore left to die without hope of treatment.

The gains made in sustainable development will be lost if a remedy to the spread and devastating consequences of HIV/AIDS is not found. It is therefore essential that populations in developing countries have access to effective AIDS drugs that will help prolong their lives. I would hasten here to stress that these drugs should be provided at affordable prices.

We are grateful to countries and organizations that have provided resources to fight the HIV/AIDS pandemic. We encourage them to continue, and we call on others to emulate their actions. Furthermore, we welcome the announcement by the World Bank that it will soon present a multisectoral AIDS programme for Africa to its Board of Directors. This will no doubt facilitate the efforts of Governments in implementing their nationwide HIV/AIDS strategies. In the same vein, we welcome the launching of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS initiative of the International Partnership against AIDS in Africa.

We note the progress made on key issues relating to HIV/AIDS at the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference, which was held in Durban, South Africa, as reported this morning by Dr. Piot. We are hopeful that coordinated efforts of this kind will continue. We note specifically that access to treatment emerged as a key issue of the conference, with access to anti-retroviral therapy being central.

We recognize that the issue of HIV/AIDS does not fall directly within the purview of the Security Council. In maintaining international peace and security, the Security Council will contribute in a major way to minimizing the impact of HIV/AIDS in conflict areas and assist Governments in devoting more resources to tackling social and economic problems.

We welcome the efforts being made by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations in ensuring that peacekeeping personnel are well informed about HIV/AIDS prevention and the implications of HIV-risk behaviour.

Finally, at the same time as we strive to make treatment accessible to all the peoples of the world, the search for a vaccine should be vigorously pursued.

The President: I thank the representative of Namibia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): My delegation would like to begin by expressing its appreciation to you, Mr. Minister, for your presence here today and for your decision to preside over this important meeting. We are also grateful for the presence of Mr. Peter Piot, the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), and for his statement. We would also like to express our satisfaction at the results of the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference recently held in Durban, although the results may not have been as promising as we had hoped.

Peacekeeping operations have become a vital means through which this Council can discharge its primary responsibility. The mandates designed for such operations and the results that they have achieved have been subjected to various forms of criticism. However, it is incontestable that such missions are the main tool that the international community has today to maintain international peace and security. These operations require a significant contribution in human and material resources on the part of a number of Member States which, like Argentina, from the outset have favoured peacekeeping operations and taken an active part in them. In order to maintain the level and the quality of such contributions, it is essential to minimize as much as possible the risks to which the personnel participating in these missions are exposed.

Argentina supports the draft resolution on which we are about to vote. We regard it as one further step in this campaign of risk reduction additional to those taken by a number of Member States, including ours, when we asserted the need to enhance the security of United Nations and associated personnel in the context of peacekeeping operations. It is true that the question of AIDS is not the only problem facing the personnel of such missions. However, we need to bear in mind the fact that this disease is one of the factors that have caused loss of life in these missions. Such losses could, perhaps, have been avoided through better preparation and training of the personnel serving in such missions.

With regard to the global dimension of the AIDS question, Argentina reaffirms here the points it raised in our debate on 10 January, in particular the relationship that exists between this grave problem and the concept of human security and the set of measures which we recommended for adoption on that occasion.

The endeavours of the international community to contain this disease must continue. Only the concerted efforts of all relevant actors, in particular the countries in which the most effective medications to treat this disease are produced, will make it possible to prevent AIDS from becoming a threat to international peace, stability and security in the future.

The President: I thank the representative of Argentina for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in Arabic*): At the outset, allow me to congratulate you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting. It is truly a pleasure to see you, Mr. Minister, personally presiding over this important meeting. Your presence among us clearly shows the importance that your friendly country, as well as all countries members of the Security Council and the international community as a whole, attach to a discussion of the AIDS pandemic and international peacekeeping operations. I should also like to express our thanks and appreciation to Mr. Peter Piot, the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), for his useful briefing on the important steps taken

since our previous meeting to implement this Council's recommendations.

It must be recalled that the Security Council took up the issue of AIDS in a comprehensive manner under the presidency of the United States earlier this year. It recalled the threat of this pandemic and the need to implement a comprehensive international strategy to combat AIDS through complementarity and cooperation among all United Nations organizations and agencies within their own competencies. In this context, we must pay tribute to the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council for their lead role in combating this pandemic. We note with satisfaction the inclusion in the agenda of the General Assembly of an item to review the problem of AIDS in all its aspects.

The Security Council's consideration of the pandemic is taking place with a clear understanding of the growing threat of the pandemic and of its relation to peace and stability, particularly in some African countries. Furthermore, the fact that this meeting is being held following the Durban Conference on AIDS dictates that we take up the recommendations of that Conference in order to render them practical and implementable.

The international community is duty-bound to devote its energies and exert maximum efforts to contain the current situation and avoid further tragedies through reliance on international solidarity. It is the only lifeline, given the complexity and danger surrounding this problem. Time is short. Furthermore, international commitment must be heightened. All States' efforts must be encouraged. States must be urged to implement national plans within a comprehensive international strategy. Scientific research must be encouraged and placed with the reach of all countries.

My delegation asserts the right of the whole of mankind to benefit from scientific progress, free of prejudice and discrimination. It is unacceptable that the majority of humanity be denied the benefits of medical progress or the necessary drugs merely because they are developing countries. We believe that one of the most important international duties is to ensure that treatment and drugs be available at affordable prices. Such ideas should be entrenched in an international partnership among all actors against AIDS.

In this context, we must pay a tribute to France for its practical proposals against AIDS, particularly the creation of an international solidarity fund to mobilize financial resources and for its call to hold an international conference for all parties, including the pharmaceutical industry. We believe that initiative merits international attention.

We believe that disputes and crises are fertile ground for the spread of AIDS. Therefore, peacekeeping forces can play an important role in awareness-raising and providing means of prevention for themselves and others. That objective cannot be accomplished without prior appropriate training of these units. They must be prepared and equipped to shoulder the responsibilities mandated to them.

In conclusion, I wish to express my delegation's support for the draft resolution before the Security Council, because of the initiative of the United States of America. I also wish to express my deep appreciation to Ambassador Holbrooke for his unceasing efforts from the beginning of this year to reach this stage of presenting the draft resolution to the Council. It is an historic initiative. The Security Council's concerns have thus expanded to include all issues pertaining to international peace and security.

The President: I thank the representative of Tunisia for his kind words addressed to me.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): It is good to see you, Mr. President, presiding over our affairs this morning. Thank you for drawing extra political attention to this subject by your presence.

France will later make a statement in the name of the European Union, which the United Kingdom fully endorses, and therefore my own statement will be brief.

We are very grateful to Dr. Peter Piot for his useful statement and update in our debate this morning and for the excellent work which the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) is doing on this subject. As he emphasized, the work of the United Nations system and of the wider international community needs to be coordinated, if it is to be fully effective. UNAIDS has a vital role to play in this regard, and we are pleased with its developing practical proposals for United Nations peacekeeping forces and other uniformed services.

It is important more generally that we have a target to work towards on HIV/AIDS. The resolution

before us refers to the international target to reduce the rate of new HIV infections in the 15- to 24-year-old range by 25 per cent by the year 2010. This is a realistic and an achievable goal. But, as the Secretary-General made clear in his report to the Millennium Assembly, it will require international action to be better coordinated and intensified across the board.

It is vital to see HIV/AIDS as more than just a public health issue. It is a global crisis which, by creating environments in which political and ethnic tensions can worsen, will contribute to the proliferation of armed conflict. We are now starting to recognize that security conditions have a direct impact on the spread of AIDS. For that reason, the Security Council must continue to focus on AIDS in the peacekeeping context as part of its primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security. Developing a more professional approach to the prevention of conflicts is, in the AIDS context and more widely, vitally important.

The draft resolution focuses on the link between the spread of HIV/AIDS and peacekeeping. That is not to denigrate peacekeepers as agents of the virus. But the Council must always recognize that peacekeepers do not operate in isolation from the local community. The draft resolution therefore rightly highlights the importance of peacekeepers from all countries being made aware of the risks, both to themselves and to others, of HIV/AIDS.

We welcome the initiatives that have been taken in the Security Council this year and pay tribute to the leadership of the United States, and particularly of Ambassador Holbrooke in this regard. But the Council does not have the main responsibility in tackling the HIV/AIDS pandemic. All of our delegations must work together in the General Assembly and in the Economic and Social Council to take concrete steps that will make a difference. The United Kingdom looks forward to playing a leading role in that vitally important debate.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Kingdom for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Vamos-Goldman (Canada) (*spoke in French*): We also welcome Dr. Piot.

Over the past two weeks information about the acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) pandemic — some very encouraging but most very disturbing — has made headlines around the world. That information has reached us as up to 10,000 representatives from Government, scientific research institutions, public health agencies, non-governmental organizations and service organizations dealing with AIDS gathered in South Africa for the Thirteenth International Conference on AIDS. The item is also on the G-8 Summit agenda, which will take place soon in Japan.

From the Canadian perspective, there is no question that the AIDS pandemic has reached proportions that pose a clear threat to stability and development. The overwhelming facts and statistics that have been broadly publicized over the past weeks give substance to this concern. Estimates that almost half of all 15-year-olds in South Africa and Zimbabwe, and even more in Botswana, will die of AIDS should be more than enough to convince anyone still in doubt of the devastating political, economic and social impact of this disease.

Canada agrees with former President Mandela that the AIDS pandemic is one of the greatest threats humankind has faced. This is not, however, just an issue of concern to Africa alone. No region of the world can afford to be complacent. The prevalence of HIV/AIDS is exploding in Asia, where in the last three years about 3 million people have tested sero-positive. And in Canada new alarming rates of HIV infection are showing up again in our major cities.

(*spoke in English*)

There are, fortunately, some bright spots on the AIDS horizon. We would be remiss if we did not recognize efforts made by many countries to address AIDS through the adoption of comprehensive national strategies integrating education and awareness, prevention and treatment aimed at all segments of society. We welcome the update provided by UNAIDS on its work in support of these national efforts, as well its broader activities to intensify cooperation within the United Nations system in its fight against AIDS. We urge all countries that have not put into place effective strategies to deal with AIDS to do so. The international community can assist, but it cannot act in the absence of national efforts.

Approximately 150 Canadians — including scientists, health workers and activists led by Canada's Minister for International Cooperation — attended the Durban Conference to underline Canada's continued

commitment to the global fight against AIDS. In June, we launched an aggressive action plan outlining Canada's proposed contribution to serve clear and attainable international goals that included reducing the level of infections in the 15-24 age group by 25 per cent in the most affected countries by 2005 and ensuring that by 2010 at least 95 per cent of young women and men aged 15-24 will have access to the information, education and services necessary to reduce their vulnerability to HIV infection. Canada will spend $120 million over the next three years, as compared to the $22 million spent in 1999, an important increase in funding that underlines our determination to do our share.

We noted when we last discussed this issue in January that we welcomed the Security Council's consideration of AIDS as further recognition of the need to include non-traditional threats, particularly those that affect human security, in our definition of security. Given the sheer enormity of the AIDS pandemic and the need for urgent action on a global scale, it is appropriate that the Council speak to this issue. The devastating impact of AIDS on people, families and whole societies cannot but conspire against our efforts to build security within and between countries.

We particularly welcomed the views expressed by troop contributors in consultations held on 11 July. We commend the President of the Security Council for organizing this consultation sufficiently early in the consideration of this draft resolution so that the views of the troop contributors could be taken into account. This process should provide a model for future Security Council consultations.

In Canada's view, the Security Council can be most effective in contributing to the fight against AIDS, most notably in Africa, through stepped-up efforts at conflict prevention and resolution. It is clear that populations fleeing conflict areas are more likely to be vulnerable to all types of diseases, including AIDS, and to suffer more as a result of more difficult, if not impossible, access to medical treatment. Ridding affected regions of conflict is the best way to enable them to dedicate resources to the fight against AIDS and to ensure that international support for that fight is most productive.

The safety and well-being of the individual are increasingly the reference point in efforts to promote international peace and security. World peace depends not only on securing borders, but on securing people against threats to their human security, whether it be armed conflict, crime, natural disasters or disease. It is in this context that the AIDS epidemic poses a fundamental challenge to human security, and the threat it poses challenges our humanity. This is reason enough to integrate the fight against AIDS into our efforts on behalf of international peace and security.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): I would like to join others in commending you, Mr. President, for convening this open meeting of the Security Council to consider once again the HIV/AIDS issue, this time in the specific context of peacekeeping operations. Your personal presence here today is greatly appreciated by us all.

Let me also express our appreciation to the delegation of the United States, and in particular to Ambassador Holbrooke, for taking the initiative on this issue during the United States presidency of the Council in the month of January this year and for following it up six months later. We commend the United States for its continued commitment and leadership on this enormously important issue.

Today's briefing by Dr. Peter Piot, Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), more than ever before underscores the pandemic character of HIV/AIDS and its debilitating effects on societies, not just in the most affected continent, Africa, but also in several other parts of the world. The update by Dr. Piot, and the latest report on the global HIV epidemic — released late last month by UNAIDS — paints a disturbing picture of the spread of the disease in the worst affected countries. The report shows that the ongoing spread of the HIV/AIDS pandemic in these countries is reversing years of declining death rates and causing alarming rises in mortality among young adults. This, in turn, drastically alters the population structures in the most affected regions.

Today's debate focuses on HIV/AIDS in the context of peacekeeping. As more and more United Nations peacekeepers are deployed in conflict areas, some of which are afflicted by the AIDS virus, there is the imperative need to protect them from being infected from this deadly virus and to ensure that they do not unwittingly spread the disease themselves. This can only be done, first, through proper orientation and

training before their deployment in mission areas, so as to raise their awareness of the potential risks of being infected, and, secondly, through a stringent regime of regular medical check-ups and HIV testing in accordance with established procedures, and offering them prompt treatment when necessary.

We are gratified that AIDS awareness and orientation are beginning to be addressed both by the United Nations and by troop-contributing countries. But it is important to ensure that AIDS-related programmes be undertaken not on an ad hoc basis, but that they be made an integral and mandatory part of the orientation and training for peacekeepers before their departure to mission areas. The members of the international community with the capacity to do so and UNAIDS, which has the expertise, can play an important and constructive role in this area. In such training sessions it is essential to drive the point home to the would-be peacekeepers about the seriousness of the AIDS virus and their debilitating effects on themselves, should they be infected, and of the equally grave risks of their spreading the virus to others, including their loved ones upon their return. This message is particularly important given the daredevil mentality on the part of some soldiers prone to taking unnecessary risks. This is particularly true in the case of those soldiers who are in the most sexually active and adventurous age group. This therefore presents a particular challenge to trainers. Yet, being the most disciplined members of society, military personnel could provide an ideal opportunity in which HIV/AIDS prevention education can be provided to a large, captive audience in a disciplined, highly organized setting.

AIDS spreads indiscriminately — to rebel groups, national armies, and peacekeepers and humanitarian workers alike — in AIDS-afflicted areas, hence the importance of sensitizing all United Nations and other international workers operating in conflict zones to the risks involved. In this regard, there should be increased coordination and cooperation on HIV/AIDS matters between and among relevant United Nations and other international agencies operating in AIDS-afflicted areas. Peacekeepers and other international workers must be made to realize that in the HIV/AIDS virus they confront as deadly an enemy as the traditional enemies they usually come in contact with.

The International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa, which concluded just last week, revealed another disturbing aspect of HIV/AIDS in afflicted areas, in that, according to experts, Africa's armed conflicts have played a major role in the spread of HIV/AIDS. Reports on this particular subject from the Conference have indicated that infection rates among combatants, including those in some national armies, are as high as 50 per cent. According to one report, combatants, whether rebel or Government, are not merely the most vulnerable to HIV infection; they are also the most likely to spread it.

This claim is corroborated by a recent United Nations report which indicates that infection rates of sexually transmitted diseases are two to five times higher in the military than among civilians. The problem is compounded by the fact that when troops cross borders, they sexually abuse local populations, using rape as a form of intimidation. This has been widely alleged by international relief agencies and was alluded to by the Minister of Health of Namibia, Dr. Amathila, who sadly reflected on these unfortunate occurrences when she addressed the Council last January. These are the realities of the conflict situations to which we are sending our peacekeepers, and they must be taken into cognizance in formulating any strategy to combat the virus.

The Durban Conference on AIDS also dwelled on the important but sensitive issue of cheap and accessible drugs. In order to meet even the most basic care and prevention needs, numerous calls have been made for dramatically increasing spending on combating the HIV/AIDS virus. However, the United Kingdom-based Panos Institute revealed at the Conference that it would take $60 billion dollars to buy anti-retroviral drugs for all the people living with HIV/AIDS who need them but cannot pay the price. The Institute has also pointed out that money is not the only resource necessary to ensure successful drug treatment. It has also indicated that in order to ensure the effectiveness of the medication, those undergoing treatment must have access to regular laboratory tests and skilled personnel with the ability to interpret those tests and to advise on appropriate treatment. The procedure is as expensive as the medications themselves.

It is perhaps not surprising that the single most contentious issue of the Durban Conference focused on access to care and treatment. Two points require special mention: first, the role of community mobilization in changing the actions of the pharmaceutical sector; and

secondly, the importance of creating an international political and legal consensus to support differential pricing.

My delegation, in the earlier debate on HIV/AIDS in this Council, drew attention to the fact that compulsory licensing was allowed under the World Trade Organization but that, regrettably, with support from their powerful and influential friends, the giant pharmaceutical companies have thus far denied developing countries the right to produce cheaper drugs to save the lives of their people. As my Prime Minister, Dr. Mahathir Mohamad, put it during the fifth International Conference on AIDS in Asia and the Pacific, held in Kuala Lumpur recently, it is regrettable that profit is taking precedence over the need to save people's lives. This is a sad commentary on the current situation. Indeed, faced as we are with the greatest pandemic since the bubonic plague, every effort should be directed towards serving humankind instead.

We would like to commend UNAIDS for starting a new dialogue in May among five pharmaceutical companies and United Nations organizations to explore ways to accelerate and improve the provision of HIV/AIDS-related care and treatment to developing countries. We note that the companies have responded to the call made by Secretary-General Kofi Annan inviting the private sector to engage in partnerships to expand the global response to HIV/AIDS and to support the International Partnership against HIV/AIDS in Africa. Similar calls have been made by other personalities, including the heads of United Nations organizations — in particular Mrs. Brundtland, Director-General of the World Health Organization; Mr. Wolfensohn, President of the World Bank; and Dr. Piot himself, whose advocacy efforts have been instrumental in drawing leading companies into cooperative action to help meet the challenges posed by the pandemic. We also note that Mrs. Bellamy, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), and Dr. Sadik, Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), have also been involved in these discussions and have actively promoted effective alliances with the business community.

My delegation hopes that these efforts will be expanded to include partners from other sectors. This is indeed a promising step in a long-term process and an opportunity for committed Governments, donors, civil societies, people living with HIV/AIDS, and private industry to enter into discussion to scale up access to care in ways that respond to the specific needs and requests of individual countries.

In conclusion, my delegation is pleased to support the draft resolution before the Council and will play its part towards its full and effective implementation.

The President: I thank the representative of Malaysia for the kind words he addressed to me.

Mr. Kuchynski (Ukraine): Mr. President, I am convinced that the fact that you are presiding over this important meeting will give additional weight to our deliberations and decisions.

I would like to thank Dr. Peter Piot for his lucid presentation of the report on measures undertaken by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) as a follow-up to the previous Security Council meeting on HIV/AIDS in Africa. That meeting undoubtedly successfully accomplished one of its primary purposes: it contributed to increasing global awareness of the AIDS problem and stimulated further efforts of the world community to address it.

Of course, many actions, as outlined in the report, had been conceived and planned long before the meeting, but it is especially gratifying to see that the Security Council promoted their implementation, thus demonstrating its results-oriented approach to the consideration of this important issue.

We would also like to thank Dr. Piot for the information on the International AIDS Conference, held at Durban. We very much agree with Dr. Piot that HIV/AIDS is an epidemic of global proportions with enormous human and social ramifications that go far beyond the province of health care. As such, it constitutes a global emergency, threatening stability, exacerbating inequalities and undermining sustainable development. AIDS has become a disease of poverty, ignorance and gender discrimination, with the greatest effect on poor children and women.

The most disturbing facet of this disease is that today 95 per cent of all HIV-infected people live in developing countries. The impact of HIV/AIDS on all aspects of development threatens to provoke the reversal of decades of progress in the most affected countries. Many hard-won development gains have already been eroded. Estimates show that in the forthcoming decade no sector — including the trade and economic development, health care, education,

employment, social and other sectors — will be spared the ravaging effects of this epidemic.

We realize that HIV/AIDS will continue to be a serious challenge for many years to come. Facing this challenge will require comprehensive, multisectoral responses that involve a broad range of actors. Failure to meet it effectively will put at risk all other aspects of international development during the next decade.

It is encouraging that increased attention to the problem of AIDS has started to bring the first practical results. We welcome the recent decision by a number of leading pharmaceutical companies, following the appeal from the Secretary-General, to begin the process of cutting the price of AIDS drugs for States affected by the disease. We also welcome the recent move by the United States Government to make the procurement of cheaper anti-AIDS drugs more accessible and affordable. We hope that these steps will be followed by actions on the part of other Governments and drugs producers. At the same time, it is clear that such measures are only one of the factors in what should become a broader and urgent effort.

In our view, only the concerted and coordinated efforts of the international community will be able to successfully address the problem of HIV/AIDS. As we have already indicated on many previous occasions, we believe it is high time for the United Nations to elaborate a comprehensive agenda for action against this pandemic. And it is also our conviction that — while all relevant United Nations bodies can contribute to this cause, according to their respective mandates — the General Assembly should play its central role in tackling this issue of global concern by reviewing the problem in all its aspects and proposing new strategies, methods, practical activities and specific measures to strengthen international cooperation to address the issue.

Ukraine believes that a special General Assembly session would be the most appropriate forum for this purpose. I would also like to inform the Council that just a few days ago my country, along with Costa Rica, the Czech Republic, Nigeria and Zimbabwe, tabled a draft General Assembly resolution for such a session to be held in May 2001. We invite all United Nations Member States to support this draft resolution.

In conclusion, I would like to wish Dr. Piot every success in his work to fight this devastating scourge. Let me express our delegation's hope that today's discussion will provide another boost to this difficult but important endeavour.

Finally, we would like to express our support for the draft resolution before us. It is particularly commendable that the Council has had an opportunity while preparing this draft resolution to take into account the views of troop-contributing countries. We hope this practice will be continued in the future.

The President: I thank the representative of Ukraine for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Ouane (Mali) (*spoke in French*): At its 10 January 2000 meeting devoted to examining "The impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa", the Security Council received an important message from His Excellency Alpha Oumar Konaré, President of the Republic of Mali and the Chairman-in-Office of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). I would like to recall the substance of that statement. *(S/PV.4087 (Resumption 1), page 11)*

President Konaré started by saluting the holding of this meeting as an initiative that

> "makes it possible to break the complicitous and unacceptable silence that allows AIDS to develop today".

He stressed "the well-known insufficiency of the resources applied until now to eradicate this scourge" whose scope and gravity are evident to all. In conclusion, President Konaré launched an appeal for the international community to launch a crusade against the AIDS pandemic in order to step up research on this disease, to increase prevention and "to provide the necessary support to the millions of persons who are affected by HIV/AIDS, in particular the men, women and children of Africa infected by the pandemic".

What is the situation now, six months later? The international community of course has not remained passive. The General Assembly has placed the question of HIV/AIDS under all its aspects on the agenda of its fifty-fifth session. The Economic and Social Council devoted a special session on 28 February 2000 to the topic, and the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference has just concluded in Durban, South Africa. We welcome the remarkable work accomplished by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) in these regards and

elsewhere. I would also like to welcome Dr. Piot and thank him for his very informative statement.

In the framework of today's meeting on "The responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security: HIV/AIDS and international peacekeeping operations", I would like to say, first, that we support the plan of action prepared by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee and the UNAIDS Secretariat, which fully integrates HIV/AIDS in humanitarian actions and focuses on the part played by the military and peacekeeping forces in both the prevention and propagation of HIV. Secondly, we welcome the measures to intensify international cooperation among national organs, in order to facilitate the adoption and implementation of HIV/AIDS prevention, testing and counselling policies and to promote the treatment of staff participating in international peacekeeping operations. Thirdly, we support the cooperation now existing between UNAIDS, the World Health Organization (WHO), the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to reduce the risk of HIV transmission among refugees and host populations, as well as with regard to United Nations staff and the staff of humanitarian agencies in conflict and humanitarian situations.

Beyond the "historic step" of the 10 January 2000 Security Council meeting, and beyond the aforementioned measures, as President Konaré emphasized, there remains the ardent obligation to come up with concrete measures that will prepare the way for all humanity to take hope and have access to equitable treatment.

Almost 20 years after the emergence of this disease, the international community cannot accept a situation in which the patients are in the South and the treatments are in the North. In this respect, we welcome the recommendation of the 105th session of the Executive Council of the World Health Organization (WHO) calling upon member States to

> "improve access to prevention and treatment of infection by HIV and associated illnesses by ensuring reliable systems of distribution and benefits and by providing access to affordable medicine, in particular through the development of a vigorous policy on the use of generic products, bulk purchases, negotiations with pharmaceutical companies and appropriate financing."

We also support the recommendation on pursuing the dialogue with the pharmaceutical industry so that medicine to treat HIV/AIDS may become more affordable to the populations of member States.

We are similarly gratified that the International Therapeutic Solidarity Fund has been established.

As Dr. Piot, Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, has pointed out, the priority objective today should be to reinforce political will, resources, systems and social commitment to turning back the course of the epidemic. In that respect, the draft resolution to be adopted today constitutes a further step forward, building on the accomplishments of our meeting of 10 January 2000. That is why we fully support it.

In conclusion, I wish to assure you, Sir, of my delegation's pleasure at seeing the Security Council meet today under your presidency to consider this important matter. We thank the Jamaican delegation for having convened this important follow-up meeting today and the United States delegation, under Ambassador Richard Holbrooke, for having taken the initiative of placing this topic on our agenda last January.

The President: I thank the representative of Mali for his kind words addressed to me and the Jamaican delegation.

Mr. Scheffers (Netherlands): I thank you, Sir, for your presence here in order to preside over our important meeting today. I wish to join previous speakers in thanking Dr. Piot for his very to-the-point and concise presentation, and in general for the excellent work of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS).

As the French representative will also speak on behalf of the European Union, my delegation can be brief and wishes to highlight a few points only that are characteristic of the Netherlands' approach to the international dimension of the HIV/AIDS crisis.

The Netherlands notes with great appreciation that, increasingly, HIV/AIDS is not seen as just a health problem. Its social consequences are severe and the disease adversely affects a country's potential for economic development. As a matter of fact, AIDS may

ultimately destroy the very fabric of entire societies and aggravate the risk of instability. AIDS might therefore become one of the root causes of conflict.

I am not going to repeat the statistics provided by UNAIDS, but one thing is clear. We are speaking of staggering and alarming numbers. They become even more frightening when we realize that HIV/AIDS spreads with a multiplier effect. This holds true in conflict areas in particular. Soldiers and displaced civilians on the move are important sources of HIV dissemination, while, in those circumstances, the fight against AIDS is particularly difficult.

There are, unfortunately, more and underlying reasons why HIV/AIDS gets the chance to spread so rapidly: poverty and gender discrimination. Misinformation or lack of information are other important elements in the spread of AIDS. Girls are especially ignorant about the disease. According to a survey conducted in 34 countries by the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), it was found that, in about half of those countries, more than 50 per cent of girls from ages 15 to 19 said that they did not know that a person with AIDS could appear healthy. Efforts to reach and teach those girls are hampered by poverty, local customs, violence and social or religious bias, according to UNICEF.

Given this bleak and sombre background, the Netherlands believes that the fight against HIV/AIDS should follow an approach that goes beyond sectors or countries. We also believe that the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council continue to have a major role to play. Whenever the opportunity arises, the Netherlands wishes to stress the point that political commitment, on both the national and international levels, is equally essential. In this light, we find the reported progress in a number of African countries hopeful and encouraging.

The Dutch international policy to combat AIDS is focused on prevention, care, non-discrimination and relief, as well as on the promotion of research, both biomedical and sociological. Prevention and awareness ought to go hand in hand with relief and care for the victims of the pandemic. However, in the end, only a vaccine will provide a lasting solution.

In this context, the Netherlands supports a research project in Ethiopia. Furthermore, we recently decided to make $20 million available for the International AIDS Vaccine Initiative, aimed at supporting vaccine research and at guaranteeing that these vaccines become available in developing countries. The Netherlands is the second-largest donor worldwide and we will continue contributing to the battle against AIDS in bilateral and multilateral frameworks. In this connection, I am pleased to note that the Netherlands has increased its contributions to UNAIDS and will start a partnership programme with that organization for a total amount of approximately $10 million in 2000 and 2001. Within the UNICEF partnership programme, which is presently under consideration, funds for the battle against AIDS will also be reserved.

As I stated earlier, the Netherlands attaches great importance to the principle of non-discrimination. That is why we support non-governmental organizations working with HIV-positive people and AIDS victims. The fact that HIV/AIDS has been put prominently on the international agenda must now lead to concrete action at the regional and national levels. The feasibility of organizing a meeting under United Nations auspices on access to care for HIV/AIDS should now be analysed in appropriate United Nations bodies and incorporated and streamlined into existing international forums.

Access to drugs, whatever the importance of such an issue may be, constitutes only a part of the HIV/AIDS pandemic and cannot be treated separately from the other issues, such as vaccine development, research, care, efficacy and cooperation with national Governments. All parties should deal with the HIV problem in an integral way.

To conclude, in the broader context of the responsibility of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, my delegation commends the work of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee working group, as described in the very useful note prepared for this meeting. We welcome the adopted action plan, in which addressing HIV/AIDS has been fully integrated into peacekeeping operations and humanitarian action.

The President: I thank the representative of the Netherlands for his kind words addressed to me.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): It is an honour and pleasure for my delegation to see you, Sir, presiding over this important meeting of the Security Council. We very much appreciate your taking the time out to come here and encourage us with your presence.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic is now increasingly recognized as being more than a public health problem. Its nature and extent has made it a development problem for the vast majority of countries. It has the potential to cause violence and social destabilization through the enormous toll it can take on the active members of a society. In the broader context of security, it also has a security dimension.

The world is facing an alarming situation with AIDS. The United Nations has already declared it the worst infectious disease catastrophe since the bubonic plague, which killed a third of the European population in the fourteenth century. All are aware of the frightening statistics of HIV/AIDS and I will not repeat them.

HIV/AIDS is most prevalent in Africa, but no single country is immune. In Asia, new HIV infections increased by 70 per cent between 1996 and 1998. This rapid spread shows that unless drastic measures are immediately taken, it could be as great a scourge in many other countries and regions around the world as it is in sub-Saharan Africa.

For a secure future, we have no choice but to make every effort to halt the spread and impact of the pandemic. The effort should be directed to, and from, all levels. I will briefly mention a few points which we believe would help our efforts against this global scourge. First, with regard to targets, we should focus our strategy on a time-bound target for reducing HIV/AIDS. We welcome the Secretary-General's call, in his millennium report, for a reduction of HIV infection rates in people from 15 to 24 years of age by 25 per cent globally before 2010. This target is based on agreement at the 1999 special session of the General Assembly on the follow-up to the International Conference on Population and Development, and we should all make every effort to achieve this goal.

Secondly, one of the issues that emerged from the 10 January meeting of the Council was the need for better coordination and exchange of information between and among the bodies working on AIDS. This must be forcefully sought so that better programmes can be implemented. Following the Council meeting in January, Dr. Peter Piot, the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), informed us of a specific plan for the major intensification and mobilization of efforts to address AIDS. We appreciate his statement today, which was in keeping with his commitment to brief the Council regularly on the status of the plan.

Thirdly, there should be a strong partnership between Governments, international organizations and civil society, particularly the private sector so that the pharmaceutical companies, in partnership with the donor nations, can come up with affordable vaccines to prevent infection. As this affliction is concentrated mostly in the poorer countries, there is no way that, without major political and resource commitments, AIDS prevalence can be reduced to any significant extent.

Fourth, with regard to knowledge and education, there is a stigma associated with open discussion of HIV/AIDS in many of our societies. This deprives the potential victims of useful knowledge needed for avoiding infection, and for preventing those already infected with HIV from transmitting it to others. There should be a systematic approach for the dissemination of knowledge, particularly among the young. It is worth noting that, globally, six people under the age of 25 contract HIV every minute. They account for 40 per cent of all new infections.

Finally, at the thirteenth International AIDS Conference, which concluded in Durban last week, there were signs of increased commitment and heightened efforts by all to combat AIDS. We hope that such cooperation will result in the achievement of the target that we set for ourselves.

We believe that in view of the broader dimension of HIV/AIDS and its wider impact on societies, the draft resolution that the Council is working on should focus more on that aspect in its operative part.

Before concluding, allow me to commend the initiative of the United States presidency in January for its efforts to put HIV/AIDS in the limelight by having the problem discussed in the Security Council. Our particular appreciation goes to Ambassador Holbrooke for his pioneering initiative on the draft resolution that the Council will vote on later, and his efforts in mobilizing the Council, as well as other United Nations bodies, inspiring their efforts in their fight against HIV/AIDS.

The President: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for the kind words he addressed to me.

I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica.

I wish to thank the head of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Dr. Peter Piot, for his introduction of the report of the Secretary-General on follow-up to the Security Council meeting on HIV/AIDS in Africa, contained in document S/2000/657. We welcome the establishment of the Inter-Agency Standing Committee set up in February 2000, and commend its efforts in working towards the development of strategies for addressing HIV/AIDS in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations.

The many reports available to us point to one undeniable fact: the AIDS pandemic has reached catastrophic proportions, not only in Africa but also worldwide. HIV/AIDS has had a devastating impact on many countries, and is threatening to wipe out economic and social gains, hard-won over past decades, and threatens the future of many countries. Situations of conflict are fertile grounds for the spread of HIV/AIDS among affected populations.

The cycle of the epidemic cannot end until the world community acts in unison to deal with this scourge. It would be morally wrong to ask young men and women to serve the cause of peace without acknowledging that HIV/AIDS also poses a real threat to their well-being. We must seek to prepare them for this emerging challenge. To the extent that the HIV/AIDS epidemic could affect the efficacy of peacekeeping operations, the Council has a responsibility to seek to address the challenges presented. My delegation therefore supported the inclusion in all peacekeeping resolutions of a paragraph on efforts to sensitize peacekeeping personnel to the prevention and control of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases. We must begin to properly sensitize peacekeeping personnel, and in this regard, we commend the work of the Department of Peacekeeping Operations.

Jamaica recognizes that the issues of peace, security and development are multifaceted, and must be tackled in a holistic manner. These efforts require a multisectoral response from the international community and, with regard to the United Nations system, necessitates the involvement of all its organs and agencies. To do otherwise would be to deny the truly complicated interrelationships that militate against sustainable peace and security in many regions of the world. In this regard, we commend the Economic and Social Council, UNAIDS, the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund and other agencies for their work in formulating appropriate responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

While researchers continue to seek a cure for AIDS and to develop vaccines, the international community must build on the experiences and lessons learned and endeavour to find ways to ensure that the advances in medications and treatment are widely available. Jamaica therefore supports the holding of a special session of the General Assembly to address appropriate responses to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. We support this draft resolution and wish to commend the United States of America for bringing it forward.

I now resume my function as President of the Council.

Mr. Texeira da Silva (France) (*spoke in French*): I have the honour of speaking on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries Cyprus, Malta and Turkey align themselves with this statement.

The debate today follows up the Security Council meeting of 10 January 2000, which was devoted to the impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa and was presided over by the Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Al Gore. That meeting was a major event which the Security Council had the obligation to follow up.

AIDS has special characteristics which has made this human and medical tragedy also one of the major causes of economic and social decline that the developing world has had to confront for decades. The pandemic's impact is particularly unacceptable in these countries, where decades of effort and progress have been wiped out, as borne out by the brutal drop in life expectancy in certain African countries to early levels of the 1970s.

AIDS is a massive killer. It caused 10 times more deaths last year than did all the conflicts on that continent, and by leading to the disappearance of trained and qualified staff it destabilizes entire sectors of society: education, health, the productive sector and security.

Finally, it is clear that conflicts that topple the structure of social organization and destroy

infrastructures, particularly health and medical infrastructures, are, unfortunately, propitious for the propagation of the pandemic. In addition, there is the sexual violence committed by the combatants themselves that directly contributes to the spread of the disease. We must therefore promote the mobilization and coordination of all bodies concerned. Each should play its role in the light of the nature of the problems and the stakes involved.

The efforts of all are necessary. I believe we must once again underscore the importance of the action undertaken by the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) and its Executive Director, Dr. Peter Piot, whom we wish to thank for having come before the Council and for describing the efforts undertaken since last January. The 34.3 million individuals infected throughout the world, of whom 24.5 million are in Africa, mean many imminent deaths and the threat of a human tragedy unprecedented in recent history, if we do not find solutions quickly. Mobilization is progressing, fortunately, and the European Union welcomes the convening of the Thirteenth International Conference on AIDS in Durban, in an African land so harshly ravaged by the disease.

The Council has met again today to adopt a resolution. The text focuses on the question of the impact of the pandemic on peacekeeping operations and on the health of civilian and military personnel who participate in these operations. This draft resolution demonstrates that the Security Council is endeavouring to see that the health of these personnel and their families is protected. It also calls for the development of preventive measures for the disease in the context of United Nations operations.

Peacekeeping operations personnel are, as others, subjected to the risk of exposure to AIDS, whether it is a question of operational personnel, particularly military personnel, or the of the medical or dental support staff that provide their care. The European Union welcomes the adoption of this resolution, which shows that the Security Council is endeavouring, within its area of competence, to take account of this grave situation. No effort can be overlooked in waging this difficult yet necessary struggle against AIDS.

I should now like to speak in my national capacity.

Following the meeting of 10 January 2000, France formulated various proposals. I shall recall two.

First is the organization of an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, on the question of access to treatment for persons infected with HIV/AIDS in the developing countries. Access to treatment, and particularly to anti-retroviral treatment, was at the core of deliberations at the Durban Conference. The pledge last spring on the part of the pharmaceutical industries to lower medication costs in developing countries and even to engage in free distribution represents a major breakthrough which places a new responsibility on Governments, be they donors or recipients. These pledges must be followed up through partnerships that strengthen the health infrastructures of recipient countries, while guaranteeing that there are no parallel exports to developed countries.

For that reason, France considers that an international meeting under the auspices of the United Nations could usefully organize dialogue in this area, dialogue that would bring together manufacturers, donor countries, recipient countries, non-governmental organizations and patients associations. France welcomes the fact that the operative part of the resolution clearly refers to this matter.

Secondly, we had also proposed that there be prepared, under the auspices of UNAIDS, a file of all bilateral and multilateral actions now under way, in order to ensure consistency and geographical, medical and social complementarity of those actions. We await with interest UNAIDS proposals on this point.

I wish to affirm that France will remain very focused on the question of AIDS in the coming months. It will, *inter alia*, support the proposal to convene a special session of the General Assembly.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Permanent Representative of Zimbabwe. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Jokonya (Zimbabwe): Mr. Paul Robertson, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica, we are delighted to see you in the presidency, although your presence today leads to the relegation of my friend, Ambassador Durrant, to the seat behind you. But we are delighted that you are here, and this is clearly a

demonstration of the seriousness with which your country takes this debate before the Council.

The subject matter being discussed by the Security Council today is one to which my delegation, like many others who have spoken before us, attaches great importance. We are deeply indebted to you, Mr. President, for once again bringing this critical issue to the attention of the Council. It is our sincere hope that at the end of this exercise the Council will take a watershed decision that will challenge the international community to make its best efforts ever in dealing with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, not only within the context of United Nations peacekeeping, but in the context of the most comprehensive solution to this particular problem.

The battle against AIDS, particularly in developing countries, entails enormous costs befitting an international emergency on the grandest scale.

Just last year, the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) released figures estimating that $2 to $3 billion would be needed annually to combat the disease. The greatest need is in sub-Saharan Africa, home of 70 per cent of all people living with HIV/AIDS. In the face of this emergency, however, aid from industrialized countries for HIV/AIDS related activities in developing countries — home of 95 per cent of people with the disease — totalled only $302 million in 1998, according to the recent UNICEF report, *The Progress of Nations 2000*. Clearly, the international response to this emergency is not matching the challenge.

For too long now we have heard allegation after allegation about a possible conspiracy of silence about AIDS in many developing countries. Considering the large-scale awareness campaigns and prevention programmes launched in many of our countries, the feeling that there might be an international conspiracy of silence about effective and fundamental programmes initiated by Governments in many developing countries is perhaps justifiable. For how is it possible that since the campaign against AIDS began, the international community quotes efforts in, at most, only three developing countries? If that approach was meant to highlight the earliest success stories, surely it has outlived its purpose.

Sterling efforts in too many countries continue to go unnoticed and be under-funded, with tragic consequences not only for the countries concerned, but also for humanity in general. In my own country, Zimbabwe, our national efforts were greatly enhanced last year through the enactment of a clear national AIDS policy when Parliament passed a statute establishing the National AIDS Council. At the same time, the fiscus introduced an AIDS levy at the rate of 3 per cent on income and corporate taxes to provide secure funding for the activities of the Council. I am pleased to announce that the National AIDS Council has already begun to receive disbursements of millions of dollars from the proceeds of the AIDS levy. However, the magnitude of the challenge demands that we continue to appeal for international support in dealing with this international emergency.

With regard to international peace and security, there is no doubt that the adverse effects of the spread of HIV/AIDS on all sectors of society — including individuals, families, workers, political leaders and uniformed services, including the military — have weakened the capacity of affected countries to maintain domestic and regional peace and security. My delegation welcomes and strongly supports the recommendations contained in the March 2000 report of the United Nations Special Committee on Peacekeeping, which affirmed the need to incorporate HIV/AIDS prevention training in aspects of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations training for peacekeepers.

As a troop-contributing country, Zimbabwe commends the current efforts of the United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations to address this issue through the provision of HIV/AIDS prevention awareness skills and advice to peacekeepers through its train-the-trainer courses and materials. We hope that the Council will support the proposal contained in the draft resolution before it to request the Secretary-General to ensure the provision of mission-specific training for all peacekeepers on issues related to the prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS, and to ensure the further development of pre-deployment and ongoing training for all peacekeepers on issues related to the prevention of the spread of HIV/AIDS.

It has taken too long for the international community to forge a partnership involving all stakeholders — including Governments, the pharmaceutical industry and international institutions — working together to make HIV-related drugs more widely accessible to developing countries. It remains painfully clear that the profit motive

continues to take precedence over humanity's medical well-being. The Secretary-General notes correctly in his millennium report that

> "the world desperately needs a vaccine against HIV". *(A/54/2000, para. 130)*

Regrettably, of the $2 billion spent on research for the treatment of HIV to date, only $250 million has been spent on creating vaccines. We hope that the Council and other main bodies of the United Nations can make decisions and proposals that can stimulate the desperately needed investments in this area.

The President: I thank the representative of Zimbabwe for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Pohan (Indonesia): My delegation wishes to extend its congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We have full confidence that under your wise guidance and skilful stewardship progress will be made in dealing with the issues on the Council's agenda.

I would also like to extend our appreciation and gratitude to you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting. We also welcome the format of today's discussion, which enhances the possibility for the further involvement of States that are not members of the Council to participate in the discussion of an issue deemed critical to the maintenance of international peace and security.

My delegation fully recognizes that HIV is a serious peril that endangers humankind. It is poignant to note that the rapid spread and devastating consequences of HIV is numbing. The millennium report of the Secretary-General notes that

> "Some 50 million people have been infected with HIV since the early 1970s".
> *(A/54/2000, para. 119)*

The sad thing is that the worst effects of the epidemic are particularly striking in developing countries, where health infrastructure is lacking and available HIV vaccines remain costly. The situation has further deteriorated prolonged civil conflicts that have obliterated decades of social and economic development. This multifaceted condition has plunged life expectancies of people in those nations to the same low levels as in the 1960s.

Indonesia believes that the international community should undertake a sincere commitment to eradicate the scourge of HIV. My delegation supports the efforts exerted by the World Bank to set up a $ 500 million package for AIDS programmes in Africa. We endorse a close partnership between the Bretton Woods institutions and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS with a view to ensuring a coordinated, strengthened and expanded response to the HIV plight. We also commend the Secretary-General for his plea in his millennium report to advance innovative public-private partnerships, especially in developing countries, to promote an effective and affordable vaccine against HIV.

While believing that the HIV plague, prolonged civil conflicts and setbacks in development are intermingled in a multifaceted magnitude, my delegation holds the view that linking HIV to international peacekeeping operations raises some serious questions. Are HIV and peacekeeping operations genuinely interrelated, or are they meant to be interrelated? Which aspects of peacekeeping operations are related to the issue of HIV? If they are interrelated, how are they interrelated?

Peacekeeping operations have a wide range of aspects. These include principles and mandates, personnel, planning and organization, the safety and security of peacekeepers, training, administration and finances. The medical aspects of peacekeeping operations are probably the most conspicuous point with which the issue of HIV is tangibly connected. As outlined in paragraph 128 of the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations (A/54/839), United Nations peacekeepers in the field face a high risk of the transmission and contraction of HIV/AIDS and other communicable diseases.

As we do not yet have a clear picture of the connection between HIV and international peacekeeping operations, my delegation would like to approach the issue in a practical way. First, my delegation attaches great significance to the orientation on the epidemic provided to peacekeepers before their deployment. Indonesia supports the decision contained in paragraph 128 of the report of the Special Committee on Peacekeeping Operations to welcome

> "the Training Unit's ongoing efforts ... to raise awareness of these diseases ... [to request] the Department of Peacekeeping Operations to incorporate language into the 'Guidelines for Military and CIVPOL Participation in Peacekeeping Operations' manuals, to further raise peacekeepers' awareness of these diseases ... [and to request] the Training Unit to conduct this awareness through the train-the-trainers programme."

Secondly, preventive measures, such as affordable pre-deployment immunizations provided to peacekeepers, will be helpful in mitigating their risk of being exposed to HIV. In that connection, partnerships between the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, UNAIDS and other relevant United Nations agencies, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and between troop-contributing countries and those agencies are pertinent.

Thirdly, my delegation emphasizes the importance of the inclusion of medical units in United Nations missions or operations in countries where HIV is spreading. These medical units should provide regular medical check-ups, on a daily basis if necessary, to peacekeepers and other personnel in the mission. Once the unit finds that one or more members of the mission are showing symptoms of the disease, prompt action should be taken.

Fourthly, my delegation supports the development of HIV mapping in countries where peacekeepers are going to be deployed. This means there is a need for pre-deployment surveys by the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, for example, in cooperation or partnership with other relevant United Nations agencies in the field. Cooperation on the part of the host country will facilitate the mapping process. The data collected from that mapping will help design a deployment strategy that minimizes the risk of peacekeepers' being exposed to the disease.

I should like to conclude my statement by reiterating Indonesia's position regarding HIV/AIDS, as expressed in the open meeting of the Security Council on the impact of AIDS on peace and security in Africa, held on 10 January 2000. My delegation shares the vision of a world free from the unprecedented human disaster of HIV, a world in which HIV transmission is substantially reduced; where there is affordable treatment; where there is a substantial reduction in individual and collective vulnerability to the epidemic; where there is a significant alleviation of the adverse impact of the disease on individuals, communities and nations; where the silence surrounding the disease is broken forever, thereby sharply reducing the stigma and denial that have stifled resolution; and where this deadly disease is ultimately eliminated.

Indonesia believes that this vision can be achieved only through partnerships among the relevant agencies within the United Nations and other systems, and especially between the public and private sectors and members of civil society in developed and developing countries.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Malawi. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Juwayeyi (Malawi): Let me begin by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this open meeting of the Security Council today and for attending it personally. I wish also to thank the representative of the United States, Ambassador Holbrooke, for bringing the topic of AIDS to the forefront of discussions here at the United Nations.

Let me also take this opportunity to thank the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Dr. Peter Piot, for his statement and in particular for highlighting the case of Malawi. He could have gone on to mention the devastation AIDS has wrought on Malawian society.

That brings me to a special section of the draft resolution, which states that the spread of HIV/AIDS can have a uniquely devastating impact on all sectors and levels of society. If I had had my way, I would have changed that to read: "The spread of AIDS has had a uniquely devastating impact on society" — because that is what is happening in sub-Saharan African today. Having said that, let me now go to my prepared text.

At the International AIDS Conference in Durban, South Africa, last week, the whole world — particularly those parts of the world where the HIV/AIDS situation is very bad — was waiting for good news. The hope was that since the previous

International AIDS Conference had come up with what appeared to be promising and consoling research results, this year's Conference would be an improvement over the previous one. The world expected to hear that a vaccine would be ready soon, or that perhaps a cure was in the making.

If this was perhaps a tall order, sub-Saharan Africa was at least expecting to hear that the so-called cocktail drugs which have prolonged the lives of infected individuals in developed countries would be made available to the least developed countries at prices which they could afford. But sad to say, even that was not forthcoming from the Durban Conference.

I arrived at the United Nations in January of this year, when the issue of AIDS was at the forefront of discussions in the Security Council. At that time, I said to myself that this was very good, because back where I come from, I did not know of a single family that had not been affected by AIDS. Back there, there is a real decline in population growth. For instance, when the national census was done in my country in 1998, we all expected the population to be around 12 million. That was what experts had been predicting for the 1990s. However, when the results were announced, we learned that there were only 9.6 million Malawians. The population growth rate, which had been believed to be more than 3 per cent per year, had actually declined to 1.9 per cent per year. It became obvious that AIDS had given Malawi a death sentence.

I do not want to be misunderstood. I consider myself well informed regarding the benefits of low population growth rates, particularly in the developing countries. With the current adverse economic trends in most of those countries, one would be perfectly happy with a 1.9 per cent population growth rate if the rate were due to informed family planning. Unfortunately, this one was not.

This may sound strange, but Malawi may not be alone in experiencing a low population growth rate due to AIDS. Yesterday *The New York Times* quoted the South African Minister of Welfare and Population Development to the effect that if the AIDS trend goes unabated, South Africa could eventually have a white majority. This is serious business.

The Malawi delegation believed that the Security Council discussions in January might produce fresh ideas for combating AIDS, because it should have been clear to all involved that the strategies that had theretofore been adopted to combat HIV infection had failed. Unfortunately, this was not to be. What emerged was a reinforcement of the same old strategies, with perhaps a little more vigour this time around.

Perhaps, Sir, you noticed this in the tenth preambular paragraph of the draft resolution, which I saw just this morning:

> "*Further recognizing* that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is also exacerbated by conditions of violence and instability, which increase the risk of exposure to the disease through large movements of people".

You will have noted that this statement was put in this draft resolution in good faith, but I hope that, despite having put it in there, we will not lose sight of the fact that the most severely affected countries — Malawi, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa — have been stable countries. There has not been any conflict in these countries for the past decade or two — and, for some of these countries, since their independence. We have to remember this. It is not just violence and instability; AIDS must have certain other characteristics that have promoted its wide diffusion.

The Durban conference has left us with little or no hope that there might be a cure or vaccine any time soon. My delegation wishes therefore to call for the adoption of new strategies. There is a need to re-evaluate past strategies, to find out how and why they have failed.

For instance, why is that up until now no one has died of AIDS in much of sub-Saharan Africa? What is it in the African culture that makes it difficult to accept that someone has died of AIDS? AIDS researchers who go to such funerals in Africa always report that the person has died of tuberculosis, meningitis, pneumonia. No one mentions AIDS at all. This is a cultural perspective.

Perhaps it is now time to let experts in culture, instead of medical personnel, carry out in-depth research into how societies can avoid being affected by the HIV virus. For instance, it was only last week that a possible link was revealed between circumcised males and low rates of AIDS infection. Apparently, according to the report, medical personnel have suspected this connection for at least a decade, but it was made public only last week. The ten-year delay in widely disseminating this information is hard to understand. It

is clear to me that this problem was being looked at only from a medical point of view, and not from a cultural one.

However, the practice of circumcision, or the lack of such a practice, is a cultural matter and often not a subject of public discussion. That is why strategies must change.

Since it is clear that a drug to cure AIDS or a vaccine is in the remote future, let us in the meantime allow new strategies to come into play. Let us for a change invest in cultural experts to look at the root causes of behavioural resistance to outdated strategies.

In conclusion, let me say that my country, Malawi, also contributes peacekeepers. And Malawi has always and will continue to ensure that adequate training is given to all of our people in the field. Actually, in my country such programmes are ongoing in the army and in the police, because we realize that people need to know these things before they take on new assignments.

The President: I thank the representative of Malawi for his statement and for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Uganda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda): I thank you, Sir. My delegation is delighted to see you providing over this session and would like to commend the delegation of Jamaica for hosting this important discussion. We welcome once again this opportunity to discuss in the Security Council the most devastating war faced by mankind during peacetime: AIDS. We commend the Security Council for its continued interest and its determination to be a partner in the fight against AIDS.

Today's session is being held after a landmark conference, the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference, which ended last week in Durban, South Africa. Maybe it is too early to evaluate the impact of that conference. Nevertheless, we can even at this early stage list a number of significant outcomes, including President Mandela's ringing and heart-warming speech, which called for action now.

First of all, at Durban there was a general consensus that AIDS anywhere is AIDS everywhere, that AIDS is crushing the African continent — not only politically, but also economically. Politically because able leaders are dying prematurely. It was also recognized, more than ever before, that AIDS is a development issue and that it is a poverty issue. It is economically an issue because the most productive part of the population is the one being wiped out.

There was also consensus that the AIDS bill is enormous, as we were reminded this morning by the Executive Director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), Mr. Peter Piot. Hence the need for a worldwide response. We welcome therefore the commitments by the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the commitments by the World Bank, as well as earlier commitments by the United States, which were outlined in this Chamber during the month of January by Vice-President Al Gore.

Uganda has received honourable mention for its achievements in the battle against AIDS.

I wish briefly, at this stage, to share some of our experiences with you, Sir, and members here present. I emphasize that these are Ugandan experiences and therefore do not apply to or reflect what other countries may think.

First of all, there was open and committed political will at the top. Consequently, Uganda became a model for frankness and bold approaches. Realizing that the formidable challenges posed by AIDS could not be solved by one sector, Uganda adopted a multisectoral approach to show that AIDS is more than a health issue. The strategy involved all government ministries, non-governmental organizations, regional bodies and private enterprises. Public information and the AIDS-awareness campaign have played a key role in informing the population, to the extent that very few Ugandans today would attribute an AIDS death to witchcraft. That is why I say that I am speaking of Uganda's experience and not of other experiences in Africa. There has been massive free distribution of condoms, targeting the sex industry as well. To support government efforts, non-governmental organizations developed a wide range of AIDS-prevention programmes and activities.

The net result of this high-profile government involvement and commitment against AIDS has been that we have begun to see a reversal over the past decade. The prevalence rate was reduced from 30 per

cent at mid-decade to about 10 per cent by the end of the decade.

Again, as a result of our experience and as I have said before, AIDS is a development and poverty issue. Ugandans know as a result of bitter experience that AIDS is not caused by poverty, because we have seen many members of the prosperous part of the population — the entrepreneurs, leaders in the business and industry and the political leadership — dying in like numbers. This is why, in fact, we say that AIDS has a devastating economic impact on societies, because it is the entrepreneurial class, the productive part of populations, that is dying.

AIDS is also a poverty issue, because poverty is responsible for ignorance. People who are better off are better able to utilize the drugs available. They have access to expensive drugs which poor people cannot have. Poverty, in fact, is a major constraint to the prevention of AIDS.

At this stage, I would like to develop a new area in sharing our experiences. My colleague, the Ambassador of Malawi, has said that the spread of AIDS has other characteristics. He rightfully pointed to cultures. I think we need, in our preventive strategies, not only to address culture, but also to address the socio-political environment that, in many countries, has turned the spread of AIDS into a wildfire. The following are some of the dominant conveyor belts and links in the AIDS chain in most of sub-Saharan Africa: the breakdown of traditional values and behaviour due to the impact of modernization; the demographic changes and the impact of urbanization — rural push and urban pull — which have led to the exodus to the cities and slums, the unemployment of many loitering young men and women and the high consumption of alcohol and other good things of life; migratory labour, which leads to wife abandonment and male bachelorhood; the impact of civil conflicts and wars, which this meeting is addressing — conflicts have produced huge numbers of orphans, refugees and internally displaced persons, which, I am glad to say, is also the subject of the present meeting; the mushrooming of urban communities in rural areas; and the widespread and uncontrolled sale and consumption of alcohol, even to and by very young people.

Former South African President Mandela, at the closure of the Thirteenth International AIDS Conference, called for urgent action. I think this urgent action must address behaviour change in our communities. This is a contribution which we, internally, can make. He called for emergency measures — AIDS demands emergency responses.

Before I conclude, let me join others in paying tribute to Ambassador Holbrooke, who, in January this year, pioneered and initiated the introduction of the discussion of this subject as a Security Council issue in this Chamber. My delegation had no hesitation in backing Ambassador Holbrooke when he broached the idea. Now, the resolution before us, which my delegation supports — provided, however, that poor countries will be assisted in building the capacity to test and to undertake preventive measures, as well as to treat. Without that assistance, the call upon many of the developing countries to ensure that all their armies are tested may fall on very infertile ground. I would like to say that Uganda was engaged in awareness education campaigns within the military long before the United Nations and the Security Council thought of the subject.

The President: I thank the representative of Uganda for his kind words addressed to me and to the delegation of Jamaica.

I shall now give the floor to Dr. Piot to respond to comments and some questions raised.

Dr. Piot (*spoke in French*): I wish to thank the members of the Council and other delegations for their statements and support for the struggle we are waging.

There are just two points I wish to make. One, which was raised in a number of statements — first by Namibia and subsequently by other delegations — is on access to health care medicine. I wish first to emphasize that access to health care is now inseparable from prevention in the struggle against HIV/AIDS, whereas until recently all the emphasis was placed on prevention.

At a time when 25 million people in the continent of Africa and 35 million people worldwide are living with HIV/AIDS, it would unthinkable not to take care of those infected. We have had undeniable success in terms of prevention in poor countries, a fact that was emphasized on a daily basis during the International AIDS Conference in Durban.

But very little progress has been achieved in terms of treating people with HIV/AIDS in developing countries. The Joint United Nations Programme on

HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), working together with our co-sponsoring agencies — the World Health Organization, the United Nations Children's Fund, the United Nations Population Fund and the World Bank — has undertaken a number of initiatives. Our negotiations with the pharmaceutical industry are the best known of them, but we are exploring other avenues, too. It is not just a matter of the cost of the medicines, but also of the infrastructure of the health services, training and the funding of treatment. That is why we must take a global approach to the problem.

We are also exploring other alternatives, such as working with the manufacturers of generic pharmaceutical products. We are researching the situation of patents on anti-HIV medicine and disseminating that information to countries. A contact group has been set up by the Programme Coordinating Board — the governing body of UNAIDS — to accompany this process, which, we should be under no illusions, is very complex and will take a long time.

With regard to the proposal of France for the convening of an international meeting of interested parties to try to find a solution to the problem — we are all a part of the problem — we have agreed with France to initiate discussions on the specific outcome expected of such a meeting, where to place it in the overall context and its relevance to any future special session of the General Assembly. We would also have to consider how to provide funding to implement the conclusions of such a conference, so that it does not remain a dead letter but produces real results for people living with HIV/AIDS throughout the world. We would inevitably have to include other considerations that go well beyond public health and access to medicines, such as world trade, tariffs and the protection of intellectual property.

The second issue raised by France related to the database that we are in the process of setting up. As I said in my report, we have already begun our work. For some countries it has already been set up. I believe that, working with our partners in the United States Agency for International Development, the Department for International Development and the Swedish International Development Agency, we have already set up a programme to ensure consistency and to create a single database.

(*spoke in English*)

The draft resolution that the Council is considering is historic: it would be the first recognition in this body, and by the international community, of a link between AIDS — an infection — and human security and development. The link with development has been made by the Economic and Social Council in earlier resolutions. I think that we cannot underestimate how important it is and how much it matters how we conceptualize AIDS. It really makes a difference. Whether it is considered merely as a health or medical problem, or as a development and security problem, too, dramatically changes the way we tackle it. It dramatically changes the kind of resources that can be used to tackle the problem. We have all seen and learned that this is such a complicated and overwhelming problem that it is too heavy to put on the shoulders of one sector or one individual.

I would like to thank the Council for holding this debate and for considering the draft resolution. This draft resolution will help us tremendously — not only UNAIDS and our co-sponsors, but also the community groups and Governments — in our very difficult work. But we must also help to implement the draft resolution, as rightly requested by the representative of Uganda.

Finally, I would like to thank the Council for its leadership and, in particular, you, Mr. President; it has been an honour to be present and to speak at a meeting chaired by you. I would also like to pay tribute to Ambassador Holbrooke for his truly entrepreneurial leadership, which shows that risk-taking should be considered as something very positive in international affairs and when it comes to fighting AIDS.

Finally, as I said, for me the Durban Conference was truly a conference of hope, not because of scientific or technological breakthroughs — we have learned that it is not technology that is slowing this epidemic down — but because of the people, empowered by their leaders and empowered by resources. The Council's draft resolution and resolute engagement provides further hope. It is our role as leaders to keep alive the hope — hope that is such a precious commodity when it comes to fighting AIDS; there is not much more hope besides this leadership. I thank the Council very much for its leadership.

The President: I thank Dr. Piot for the clarifications and answers he has provided and for his kind words addressed to me.

It is my understanding that the Security Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution (S/2000/696) before it. Unless I hear any objection, I shall put the draft resolution to the vote now.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour:

Argentina, Bangladesh, Canada, China, France, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mali, Namibia, Netherlands, Russian Federation, Tunisia, Ukraine, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America

The President: There were 15 votes in favour. The draft resolution has been adopted unanimously as resolution 1308 (2000).

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list. The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.40 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4173

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4173rd meeting

Monday, 17 July 2000, 2.40 p.m.

New York

President:	Mr. Robertson	(Jamaica)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Mársico
	Bangladesh	Mr. Ahmed
	Canada	Ms. Wright
	China	Mr. Chen Xu
	France	Mr. Texeira da Silva
	Malaysia	Mr. Misran
	Mali	Mr. Kasse
	Namibia	Mr. Theron
	Netherlands	Mr. Scheffers
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Jerandi
	Ukraine	Mr. Herasymenko
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Minton

Agenda

The situation in Sierra Leone

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-53558 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 2.40 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Sierra Leone

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

Following consultations among members of the Security Council, I have been authorized to make the following statement on behalf of the Council:

"The Security Council expresses its full support for the decision taken by the Secretary-General to mount a military operation by the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) to relieve its surrounded peacekeepers and military observers at Kailahun. It expresses its satisfaction at the successful outcome of the operation, with the minimum of casualties among United Nations personnel. The Security Council expresses its admiration for the professionalism, determination and robustness displayed by all UNAMSIL forces involved in this difficult and dangerous operation, and for the leadership and skill of the Force Commander, General Jetley, under whose personal command it was carried out.

"The Security Council believes that the hostile stance taken by the Revolutionary United Front (RUF) towards UNAMSIL personnel at Kailahun had become intolerable. It fully concurs with the Secretary-General's assessment in this regard. It is firmly of the view that, after over two months' denial of freedom of movement by the RUF, the exhaustion of intensive diplomatic and political efforts and the recent decision by the RUF to impede the resupply to Kailahun, the Force Commander, under these circumstances, had no choice but to take resolute action to restore the security and freedom of movement of UNAMSIL personnel, as authorized under the mandate of UNAMSIL.

"The Security Council pays tribute to the forces of the Indian contingent of UNAMSIL, who took the lead in the execution of the operation. The Council expresses its profound condolences to the family of the Indian sergeant, Krishan Kumar, who gave his life in the cause of peace. It also expresses its sympathies to those who were wounded. The Security Council commends equally the critical role played by the Nigerian and Ghanian contingents who provided essential flank and rear support, without which the operation would not have been possible, as well as the contribution of the force as a whole. The Council also expresses its appreciation to the United Kingdom for the valuable logistical support provided. The cooperation, coherence and sense of common purpose displayed by all concerned should be considered an example of the very best in United Nations multilateral peacekeeping.

"The Council believes that there is now a firm foundation on which UNAMSIL can build as it continues to implement its mandate and work towards a lasting peaceful settlement to the conflict in Sierra Leone. While noting these positive developments, the Council recognizes that there is still much to be done, and expresses its full support to UNAMSIL in its efforts to implement its mandate."

This statement will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/24.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 2.45 p.m.

United Nations S/PV.4174

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4174th meeting

Thursday, 20 July 2000, 10 a.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Robertson	(Jamaica)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Gurirab
	Netherlands	Mr. Scheffers
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-54275 (E)

The meeting was called to order at 10.20 a.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

Role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Austria, Brazil, Colombia, Indonesia, Japan, Norway, Pakistan, the Republic of Korea, Senegal, Uganda and the United Republic of Tanzania, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Pfanzelter (Austria), Mr. Fonseca (Brazil), Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia), Mr. Oratmangun (Indonesia), Mr. Akasaka (Japan), Mr. Kolby (Norway), Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan), Mr. Sun Joun-Yung (Republic of Korea), Mr. Ka (Senegal), Mr. Semakula-Kiwanuka (Uganda) and Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

The President: The Security Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. The Council is meeting in accordance with the understanding reached in its prior consultations.

I now call on the Secretary-General.

The Secretary-General: We should all be grateful to you, Mr. President, and to your country's admirable Permanent Representative for convening this second open debate of the Security Council on conflict prevention.

Interest in this subject is on the rise — and with good reason. In the last decade alone, 5 million people lost their lives in wars — mainly internal ones — and great suffering was inflicted on countless others, most of them civilians. We struggle to relieve the suffering and to resolve the conflicts. But everyone agrees that it would be far better to prevent them.

We can do better. Indeed, the Charter requires us to do better. In Article 1, paragraph 1, the founding fathers made it one of the primary purposes of the Organization

> "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

It is high time we gave prevention the primacy, in all our work, that those words imply.

But how? There is by now a consensus that prevention strategies must address the root causes of conflicts, not simply their violent symptoms. It is also widely understood that, since no two wars are alike, no single prevention strategy will be effective everywhere. There is no panacea.

Prevention is multidimensional. It is not just a matter of putting in place mechanisms such as early warning, diplomacy, disarmament, preventive deployment or sanctions — necessary though all these may be, at one time or another. Effective prevention has to address the structural faults that predispose a society to conflict.

A recent study by the United Nations University suggests that simple inequality between rich and poor is not enough to cause violent conflict. What is highly explosive is what the authors of the study call "horizontal" inequality: when power and resources are not equally distributed between groups that are also differentiated in other ways — for instance, by race, religion or language. So-called ethnic conflicts occur between groups which are distinct in one or more of these ways, when one of them feels it is being discriminated against, or another enjoys privileges which it fears to lose.

Increasingly, therefore, we see that democracy, human rights, good governance, justice and the rule of law are not rewards to be claimed at the end of the development process, but essential ingredients of development itself. While we do not see poverty alone as a sufficient cause of conflict, we consider it no accident that the majority of wars today are fought among the poor. Social despair provides fertile soil for

conflict, especially when irrigated with undemocratic governance and violations of human rights.

As I have said before, the best form of long-term conflict prevention is healthy and balanced economic development. Since peace and development are the two great responsibilities of the United Nations, that gives this Organization a special role to play.

Since taking office, I have attempted in various ways to adapt the Organization to play that role.

The Department of Political Affairs, which I have designated as the focal point for conflict prevention within the United Nations system, has set up a Prevention Team that meets regularly to identify situations where United Nations preventive action could help. Other United Nations departments and agencies have taken similar measures to strengthen their preventive capacity.

I have established a Framework for Coordination to improve interdepartmental and interagency links. We are working more closely with regional organizations. More than 400 staff from throughout the system have gone through a new training course in prevention and early warning organized by the United Nations Staff College in Turin.

I intend to continue to strengthen the information-gathering and analysis capacity of the Secretariat, and I look forward to a systematic exchange with members of the Council on ways to do this.

Of course, all our work in post-conflict peace-building is in fact prevention, since it is designed to prevent the resurgence of conflict in countries that have escaped from it. This can be the hardest form of prevention, since conflict invariably leaves behind it a legacy of unavenged wrongs, unassuaged grievances and unachieved ambitions.

I am pleased to note, however, that the Secretariat is not alone in taking prevention more seriously. The Council too is playing its part. A recent and striking example was its decision to ban all direct or indirect imports of unlicensed diamonds from Sierra Leone, following the similar ban imposed on diamonds from the UNITA-controlled area in Angola and the ground-breaking investigation led by Ambassador Fowler. It has also requested me to establish an expert panel on the illegal exploitation of natural resources and other forms of wealth of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. I am now in the process of doing so, and I hope this may soon enable the Council to take action to restrain such exploitation, as it has done in Angola and Sierra Leone.

I also hope that the diamond bans will from now on be more strictly enforced and that the dealers will respond by cleaning up their business. Greed may be one of the driving forces behind some of today's armed conflicts, but we are not helpless in confronting it.

In my statement at the previous open meeting on prevention, I suggested a number of steps the Council could take. They include making greater use of fact-finding missions; encouraging States to bring potential conflicts to the attention of the Council; and setting up an informal working group or a subsidiary organ to study early warning and prevention.

Let me now add a few more suggestions. I believe, in the light of recent experience, that some of the Charter's provisions relating to prevention have been underutilized. Indeed, the Council could hold periodic meetings at the foreign minister level, as provided for in Article 28, to discuss thematic or actual prevention issues.

It could also work more closely with the other principal organs of the United Nations. For instance, prevention issues could be put on the agenda of the monthly meeting between the Presidents of the Security Council and the General Assembly. This Council might obtain useful information and other assistance from the Economic and Social Council, as envisaged in Article 65. And, under Article 96, the Council can request an advisory opinion on any legal question from the International Court of Justice. Could the Council not make greater use of the Court's capacity to move conflicts from potential battlefields to peaceful arbitration rooms?

In the same spirit, the Council could examine ways of interacting more closely with non-State actors that have expertise in prevention or can make a difference to it. Prevention cannot be achieved by States alone. Civil society, including the corporate sector, has a vital role to play in defusing or avoiding conflicts — as we saw, to take just one example, in South Africa in the 1980s.

I believe the time has come to review all these proposals, as well as those put forward by the members of the Council at this and previous debates. Let us agree on the most practical ideas and then let us act.

There is no shortage of ideas for avoiding the sort of human suffering, killings and wanton destruction that has disfigured the twentieth century. But among Governments, which hold most of the levers of prevention in their hands, there remains a worrying lack of political will, either to show political leadership when it is needed, or to commit the necessary resources.

Let me thank those Governments that have contributed generously to the Trust Fund for Preventive Action. Unfortunately, there are only seven of them — for a total of $7.4 million in three years.

Yes, prevention costs money. But intervention, relief and rebuilding broken societies and lives cost far more. We must move from declarations of intent to real leadership at the political level. Leaders must recognize the need for preventive action — sometimes even before any signs of crisis are evident. They will have to sell prevention policies to their publics, even if the costs must be borne today and the benefits do not arrive for months or even years, and even then not in tangible form. How does one quantify, or even recognize, a conflict that does not occur?

Leaders will also have to acknowledge — as increasingly I believe they do — that the international community can play a constructive role in internal situations, and that this can strengthen sovereignty rather than weaken it. And States will have to give the institutions that exist for prevention — from the United Nations to local community relations councils — the backing they so urgently need.

We must make conflict prevention the cornerstone of collective security in the twenty-first century. That will not be achieved by grand gestures or by short-term thinking. It requires us to change deeply ingrained attitudes. I trust we will have a fruitful debate on this most urgent issue, in which this Council has an essential role to play.

The President: I wish to thank Secretary-General Kofi Annan for his introductory statement to this most important debate on the prevention of armed conflicts. His presence here today attests to the importance of this issue to the international community as it seeks to develop a culture of prevention. I again thank him for his presentation and for his recommendations for action by the Council.

I would like to acknowledge the presence at the Council table of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Namibia and President of the General Assembly, His Excellency Mr. Theo-Ben Gurirab. On behalf of the Council I extend a warm welcome to him.

Mr. Cunningham (United States): Thank you, Sir, for convening this public meeting on such a pertinent and vital subject for the Security Council. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his continuing efforts — demonstrated today — to strengthen the role of the United Nations in preventing armed conflict and its attendant far-reaching consequences for the international community. The United States welcomes the Security Council's decision to make the prevention of conflict a priority and sees it as our responsibility as Member States and members of this Council to address the underlying causes of conflicts in hope of preventing them.

It has been eight months since we last discussed conflict-prevention strategies in detail. We are dismayed by the almost daily reports since then of burgeoning crises. Developments in Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and between Ethiopia and Eritrea, recall similar tragic events in the Balkans and East Timor. All remind us of the fragility of peace and our shared obligation to use all of the resources available to prevent and defuse conflict. As another example, we are reminded sadly that this year marks the five-year anniversary of Srebrenica. The United Nations, and in particular we members of the Security Council, must learn from these horrific events and take steps so that future generations do not suffer.

As we know too well, peacekeeping missions today have grown more and more complex — not only in scale, but also in scope and mission. Concomitantly, the resources required for successful missions, as well as their costs, have also increased. This fact alone justifies taking early and effective action to prevent the development of armed conflict. But experience also proves that there is no system as such that will get this job done. Rather, we must all bring energy, intelligence and imagination to developing the means to mitigate the tensions that breed conflict. And we must commit ourselves to early preventive action. We must not only address the consequences of such tragedies, but, more importantly, focus on the conditions that give rise to conflict. Furthermore, we need a comprehensive approach to conflict prevention, one that encompasses the promotion of democracy, human rights, the rule of

law and equal economic opportunity — all elements of a sure path to long-term global stability and development.

The scale and complexity of recent United Nations missions, such as those in East Timor and Kosovo, and crises worldwide also underline the importance of close cooperation and coordination among United Nations organs. As we have noted before — and will continue to do — the United Nations cannot by itself get the job done. To maximize effectiveness, we must augment our use of the existing and capable resources available, in particular the regional and subregional groups in Africa, Europe, Asia and Latin America that have successfully addressed local crises and helped to prevent the escalation of violence. We must enhance further the cooperation between the United Nations and regional groups. We encourage the heightened international attention to the need to take steps to prevent conflict — for example, the determination of the Organization of African Unity in pursuing a peaceful resolution to the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea, and the recently announced commitment of the G-8 to promote a "culture of prevention". We ask all nations to actively support such initiatives.

Another means of improving the United Nations ability to prevent the outbreak of conflict is through better early-warning, in order to allow the Council and the Secretary-General to identify situations before they deteriorate into armed violence. A possible means of strengthening the United Nations conflict-prevention and early-warning capacity may be to consider reinforcing the roles of the Special Representatives of the Secretary-General, in particular their abilities to identify hotspots and to intervene early.

We note the establishment by the Secretary-General of the Brahimi Panel on peacekeeping and peace operations and welcome his efforts to conduct a comprehensive review in this field as a contribution to efforts to strengthen the quality and speed of United Nations responses to peacekeeping challenges. Key to increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations in this regard is strengthening its capacity to recruit, train and deploy international civilian police. This is a critical element of conflict prevention, as international civilian police help indigenous civilian police forces develop the capacity to provide public security.

We also reiterate our concerns about the illicit trafficking of small arms and light weapons and the threat their uncontrolled proliferation and destabilizing accumulations continue to pose to international peace and security.

Noting the events in Sierra Leone, we also must press forward on curbing the illicit trade of high value commodities, in particular the illicit diamond trade, used to prolong and exacerbate conflict. The United States welcomes the initiatives proposed within the United Nations framework to assess the impact of the illegal exploitation of such natural resources and also welcomes the G-8 commitment to addressing this serious problem.

Last, but certainly not least, I would like to highlight the role women can play in conflict prevention and peace-building activities. We encourage the United Nations to make better use of the contributions of women in peace negotiations and operations, particularly by naming more women as special representatives of the Secretary-General and special envoys. International efforts to address mounting political, economic and humanitarian crises can be substantially strengthened by integrating women fully into all phases of the process of conflict resolution, mitigation and prevention, thus enhancing opportunities for building just and equitable societies.

As the Council continues to develop and refine the methods and means to prevent conflict, our ability to successfully undertake these preventative efforts will undoubtedly improve. Today and in the future, the United States welcomes the opportunity to work with all Council members so as to put into practice the ideas and plans we are discussing here today.

Sir Jeremy Greenstock (United Kingdom): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for organizing our important debate today. I would also like to thank the Secretary-General for introducing the subject in exactly the right tone.

The Council adopted a presidential statement in November on the prevention of armed conflict and the statement which you, Mr. President, will deliver today marks a further step forward, which the United Kingdom fully supports. The Council needs to continue to show real progress if we are to deliver practical results in this vital area, but that means converting our fine words into action.

Our success in this area has been partial only. Too often, Security Council intervention comes too late to prevent widespread conflict and destruction. The consequences of such failures are only too obvious: too many belligerent groups targeting the innocent and the defenceless; massive numbers of refugees forced to flee for safety; gross and systematic violations of human rights perpetrated. The primary responsibility of this Council — the maintenance of international peace and security — requires us to do better.

Today's presidential statement will have value only if it is the catalyst for a more systematic and professional approach to the prevention of conflicts. The statement sets out a number of ways in which we can achieve this step change. I should like to highlight three: the importance of the right kind of early warning and of building structures in the Secretariat to achieve this; the importance of earlier and more effective consideration of potential threats to the peace by the Security Council well before conflict is imminent; and the importance, in order to achieve this, of coordinated efforts throughout the United Nations system.

First, as to early warning, the Secretary-General needs to be given the resources he needs to make the early-warning capacity of the Secretariat effective in real life. We want the Secretariat to be able to produce clear-sighted analysis, comprehensive and integrated planning and well-resourced implementation. The initiative of the Department of Political Affairs on early warning and preventive measures is welcome. It needs now to be placed on a sound financial footing.

There also needs to be better marshalling of the Secretary-General's existing resources. Links with the competent bodies in the economic and social fields will be essential. The United Nations inter-agency Framework for Coordination is doing good work in promoting coordinated analysis and information-sharing on countries at risk of falling into conflict. This concept now has to be strengthened, under the Executive Committee on Peace and Security, to take a more systematic approach to potential conflicts in all regions of the world. And when the framework teams are agreed that a situation merits further attention, we encourage the Secretary-General to act on his convictions and to bring the matter to the Council's attention, under his prerogatives under Article 99 of the Charter.

Secondly, the Security Council has its own responsibilities. Our first objective should be to contain threats to the peace, but we often appear hamstrung in undertaking actual preventive measures well in advance of the outbreak of violence. Our capitals are wary of committing resources and we slip too easily into a focus only on the immediate causes of conflict. There are, of course, sensitivities about sovereignty when the problem lies within the borders of a State, but the prevention of serious conflict anywhere has become an international matter. The empirical evidence of this is overwhelming. It is not just a matter of subjective moral duty, but of the United Nations responsibility for peace and sustainable development. We need to make the psychological leap to addressing conflicts at their roots — their economic, social, structural and political roots, what the Secretary-General has just called "the structural faults that predispose a society to conflict".

Having made that leap, we also need to show more imagination in drawing on the box of tools at the Council's disposal to deal with potential conflict. Too often we believe that a presidential or press statement will do the trick, but too often, our finely drafted words are ignored. We have made good progress in the last year in using other instruments. Ambassador Fowler's imaginative work on implementing the sanctions against UNITA is to be applauded, and we have built on that in our approach to the current crisis in Sierra Leone. The Council has despatched missions to East Timor, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Kosovo. Let us continue to think imaginatively and to come up with new mechanisms that make a difference. I fully endorse the Secretary-General's call to us this morning to use the Articles of the Charter more proactively.

Thirdly, it is time now to be making a real effort to improve coordination and information flow throughout the United Nations system. The United Kingdom has just done that in its own government system by establishing a common Conflict Prevention Fund across all the ministries concerned and by establishing coordinated action in the use of it. The United Nations now needs an improved system-wide approach that will consolidate the expertise of all relevant bodies without stifling the capacity of any one of them to do the work that it does best.

I have already said that the Executive Committee on Peace and Security and the Framework for Coordination need to be strengthened. The Secretary-

General should be able to assert his authority throughout the United Nations system so that coordination becomes a reality. We have to ensure that our own coordination with the Economic and Social Council and the relevant United Nations agencies begins to work more naturally, and we need to forge operational links between the regional organizations and the Security Council that can bear the weight of the work we have to do together.

This week in Japan, the Group of Eight is showing us the way to a more professional approach to conflict prevention by adopting an integrated initiative on five key issues: small arms and light weapons, conflict and development, the illicit trade in diamonds, children in armed conflict, and international civil police. We in the Council need to examine their work carefully and see what lessons we can draw for the United Nations system, because the United Nations cannot afford to fall behind the game. The report which is being prepared by Ambassador Brahimi and his panel on United Nations peace operations offers a well-timed opportunity to rethink our approach in this entire area. I am sure that Ambassador Brahimi is going to set us an ambitious agenda.

Before I conclude, I want to emphasize that careful consideration of the needs of ordinary people has to be at the heart of all our conflict-prevention strategies. We have to remember that civilians, so often the tragic victims of conflict, are individuals with the same rights as the rest of us, but caught up in adverse and specific circumstances. Their particular protection needs, whether they be children, women or other more vulnerable groups, must be properly identified and met. For their sake above all, the international legal framework needs to be upheld, and the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court and the Ottawa Convention on anti-personnel mines must be signed and ratified by all of us. We need to reinforce government by consent and the rule of law, and we need to take new strides to combat the proliferation of small arms and the use of child soldiers.

This concept of security for individuals should guide us in our work. It will play an intrinsic part in the wider goal of security for States. When individuals are protected and their human, economic, social, political and cultural rights are upheld, international stability is consolidated.

All of this is an ambitious agenda for the United Nations system. It means hard work on a sustained basis for all of our delegations. There is no other way for the Security Council to meet its responsibilities in the circumstances of today and tomorrow. The United Kingdom will play its own part.

Mr. Chowdhury (Bangladesh): It gives us great pleasure and encouragement to see you, Mr. Minister, presiding over this meeting on the role of the Security Council in conflict prevention. My delegation expresses great appreciation for the initiative taken by the Jamaican presidency of the Council to follow up the debate on the subject, which has been high on our agenda. We thank the Secretary-General for his very focused statement this morning on conflict prevention, in which he made some very clear and concrete recommendations.

Conflict prevention is not an abstract concept. We regard conflict prevention as actions seeking the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, as per the principles and provisions contained in the United Nations Charter and international law. The prevention of armed conflicts within sovereign States requires a comprehensive set of actions addressing the root causes or sources of those conflicts. A third scenario, in which foreign countries get entangled in an intra-State conflict, represents a complex imbroglio. Such a situation is certainly avoidable if respect for the principles and provisions of the Charter can be secured. With these preliminary remarks, we propose to focus on five issues relating to conflict prevention.

First, with regard to the role of the Council in preventing inter-State conflicts, we all agree that under the Charter the Security Council has the primary responsibility in the area of peace and security. We should also agree that the Council must assume that responsibility, on time and in all situations.

When the subject was debated last November, frustration was expressed about the lack of the crucial element of political will. Bangladesh, at that time not a member of the Council, spoke about the political, humanitarian and economic imperatives of conflict prevention. We underlined the importance of political will and commitment, argued in favour of prompt and effective action and pleaded for consistency in our response to all situations.

Since last November, we have seen at least one clear case of large-scale inter-State war. No one is

denying the right of any nation to legitimate self-defence. But we are not convinced that a peaceful settlement was impossible and we do not believe that the means under Chapter VI were exhausted. Given the magnitude of the death, destruction and suffering that they entail, such wars defeat our collective pledge to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. This imposes grave moral and economic burdens on the countries and peoples concerned and on the international community as a whole.

The Council did send a mission to Asmara and Addis Ababa in a desperate attempt to prevent the war. We regret that the authorities did not agree to the Council's call for a halt to military preparations and the resumption of hostilities. There were questions on the Council's role and there were reflections on the role of the regional organization concerned. From early March, Bangladesh pleaded for immediate intervention by the Council in the situation between Eritrea and Ethiopia. We failed to understand and appreciate the difficulty involved in considering the issue and in making a timely intervention. Was that the result of a failure to assess the immediacy of the impending resumption of hostilities, or a lack of political will?

Secondly, let me turn to intra-State conflicts. In most cases of internal armed conflict, there is a colonial or cold-war legacy. It goes without saying that the Powers concerned have a special role and responsibility. United Nations actions in these situations may be strengthened by the initiatives and interventions of such Powers in times of crisis as well as by their addressing the long-term causes of conflict.

We may take Srebrenica and Rwanda as specific cases. The two reports reveal the extent of the lack of political will and commitment. We hope that all of us will recognize our mistakes and assume our respective responsibilities.

The reports on Srebrenica and Rwanda also point out a number of organizational or institutional deficiencies. An effective conflict-prevention strategy will require significant improvement of the United Nations conflict-prevention capacity. Clearly, there is a need for improving the United Nations early-warning and analysis capabilities and the coordination among various departments, funds and agencies and for closer cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations. We are very happy to hear from the Secretary-General this morning that the Department of Political Affairs has been designated the focal point for conflict prevention throughout the United Nations system.

Thirdly, we believe that there is an emerging consensus that durable peace can be achieved only by effectively addressing the root causes or sources of conflict. In his 1998 report on the causes of conflict in Africa, the Secretary-General identified endemic poverty, underdevelopment, undemocratic government, weak or non-existent institutions and political and economic discrimination between ethnic and religious communities as major sources of conflicts. These are within the competence of other organs and agencies of the United Nations system, including the Economic and Social Council and the United Nations Development Programme in particular, and the Bretton Woods institutions, the World Trade Organization, regional organizations and arrangements and civil society, including non-governmental organizations and the private sector. The success of conflict prevention will depend largely upon effective coordination among all actors.

Bangladesh believes that democracy, the rule of law, good governance, respect for humanitarian law and human rights and sustainable development constitute the basic foundation of international peace and security. These, in our perception, are essential components of conflict prevention.

The Group of Eight, in preparation for its summit this weekend, have adopted a historic document directly relevant to the work the Council. The document, the Miyazaki Initiative for Conflict Prevention, quoted by Ambassador Greenstock earlier, deserves our support. We took forward to the effective and full implementation of the commitments made by them.

We support consideration of conflict prevention in development assistance strategies. It is also important to recognize the need to ensure a smooth transition from emergency humanitarian assistance to development in post-conflict peace-building.

In the context of long-term strategies, in building the foundations of durable peace, we should not lose focus on the peoples of the United Nations, who are the ultimate actors in matters of peace and security. As part of a long-term strategy, we would like to underline the importance of building and sustaining peace by inculcating a culture of peace.

As defined by the General Assembly resolution, a culture of peace includes tolerance, understanding, solidarity, respect for diversity and promotion of all human rights and fundamental freedoms. We stress the need for efforts by Member States, relevant bodies of the United Nations system and other international, regional and national organizations and civil society in the effective implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the General Assembly last September.

The fourth area on which we would like to focus, is arms control and disarmament. Apart from the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, an area of major concern is the excessive accumulation and uncontrolled circulation of small arms and light weapons. Given the destabilising impact of proliferation and illicit trade in these arms, it is incumbent on the international community 'to act seriously on curbing the arms bazaar. In the specific context of some of the ongoing conflicts in Africa, it is critically important to break the nexus between diamonds and arms that sustain the wars.

The fifth and final point we would like to raise is where we go from here. In November last year, the Council decided to follow up the matter and consider convening a Security Council meeting at the level of foreign ministers during the Millennium Assembly. Given the enormous importance of conflict prevention, we would strongly support the holding of the ministerial meeting in September 2001. We are requesting the Secretary-General to submit a report containing his recommendations on conflict prevention for consideration by the proposed ministerial meeting. As I said earlier, this morning the Secretary-General has provided some very clear and concrete recommendations, particularly with regard to the meeting at the foreign-minister level, the coordination between the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council and the role of non-State actors. We hope that the Council will be acting on those. We also welcome the setting up by the Secretary-General of this panel led by Ambassador Brahimi, and we hope that its recommendations will focus on the conflict prevention aspect as well.

To conclude, let me underline that a reformed, strengthened and effective United Nations remains central to the maintenance of peace and security, of which prevention is a key component. The effective discharge of the responsibilities would require enhancing the capacity of the Organization in preventive action, peacemaking, peacekeeping, peace enforcement and peace-building.

The role of women in conflict prevention and peacemaking needs to be increasingly recognised, and we are pleased that Bangladesh's proposal on this aspect has been included in the presidential statement to be adopted later.

The success in reaching common grounds on conflict prevention in the text of a presidential statement marks an important step forward. It has been our pleasure to be able to make a constructive contribution to the exercise undertaken at your initiative, Mr. President. Bangladesh is fully behind the substance and spirit of the statement.

The President: I thank the representative of Bangladesh for his kind words addressed to me and the Jamaican presidency.

Mr. Cappagli (Argentina) (*spoke in Spanish*): Allow me, Mr. President, to begin by commending you for the excellent and timely initiative taken by your delegation of having us once again consider the question of the prevention of armed conflict. Allow me also, through you, to convey my delegation's thanks for the presence of the Secretary-General and for his statement, which yet again will serve to enlighten and inspire our debate.

Armed conflicts not only kill people, they also destroy a country's infrastructure, squander resources and change people's lives, especially those of women and children, critically affecting health and education. Hence the need to prevent them.

It is clear that in order to prevent conflicts, we have to understand the causes from which they sprang. Of course this is a complex matter, and every conflict has its own characteristics. The causes of conflicts may be immediate or deep-rooted. However, taking into account the experience with the conflicts which the Organization has been called upon to address, we can broadly identify three basic causes.

First, there is the lack of economic opportunity and there are social inequities, because war is the greatest enemy of development. Second is the excessive and destabilising accumulation of conventional weapons, in particular small arms, because these are the tools of violence. Third is the illegal exploitation of and trafficking in natural

resources, especially diamonds, because these provide funds for the purchase of weapons.

Given this state of affairs, we must as a matter of priority instil a culture of conflict prevention based on coordination and cooperation among the Members of the Organization, its various bodies and regional organizations and agreements, making it possible to develop and implement appropriate strategies.

Among the components of this culture of prevention of armed conflicts, we might think of early warning, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment, preventive disarmament and post-conflict peace-building. We should also include the use of Security Council missions, reports by the Secretary-General, the development of confidence- and security-building measures, and disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in post-conflict situations, together with the use of civilian police to prevent a resurgence of those conflicts.

If a culture of prevention is to be successful, it must have two elements. The first is financial resources in order to carry out these measures, and in this regard we welcome the contributions made to the Trust Fund for Preventive Action. The second element is real political will on the part of the parties to a conflict to overcome that conflict, as there is little that can be done by those outside a conflict, even if they have the best of intentions.

The Charter of the Organization eloquently articulates our commitment:

> "We the peoples of the United Nations determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" (*Charter of the United Nations, Preamble*).

On this premise, it is incontestable that the United Nations — and the Security Council in particular — has a moral and legal obligation to prevent conflicts.

The presidential statement that we will adopt reflects our will and determination to adopt concrete measures to make progress in establishing a culture of prevention. Let us keep that will and determination in focus. There is no doubt that the costs will be significant, but they will be amply offset by the promise of a better future free from conflicts.

Mr. Gatilov (Russian Federation) (*spoke in Russian*): The Russian Federation shares the view of the members of the Security Council, and of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, regarding the importance and timeliness of considering the broad range of issues connected with the prevention of armed conflicts. It is our belief that the legitimate legal foundation for preventing disputes and conflicts consists of the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations, the resolutions of the Security Council and the norms of international law. The decisive role in this field is played by the Security Council — which under the Charter bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. We believe that the principles laid down by the Charter and the processes for the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts are also fully applicable in the area of prevention.

A key role in preventive diplomacy properly belongs to the United Nations, which in this regard has available to it considerable possibilities and a wide array of means to prevent the escalation of disputes and military clashes. At the same time, we are convinced that preventive services to Member States should be granted on a purely voluntary basis while strictly observing the principle of non-intervention in internal affairs. Only the clearly expressed consent of the host country for preventive action can serve as a legal and political basis to adopt such steps, as well as a guarantee for their effectiveness. In this connection, we believe that any response by the United Nations — including responses to situations having a humanitarian component — must be conducted in strict accord with the Charter of the United Nations and exclusively by decision of the Security Council.

The evolution of world affairs makes it desirable to develop the norms of international law and, likewise, to adapt them to new realities. However, such work must be carried out collectively and be firmly based on the Charter of the United Nations. This will make it possible to reach consensus solutions whose legitimacy is not open to doubt.

Events in recent years have once again confirmed the importance of the consistent and strict observance of the principles on the non-use of force in international affairs, apart from those instances covered by the Charter. A positive example of such an implementation of those Charter principles is that of the events in East Timor a year ago, when precise and timely action by the Security Council in the context of

generally accepted norms of international law made it possible to avoid the escalation of the conflict.

We have frequently in the past had occasion to speak about the fundamentally important role that should be played by Security Council arms-supply embargo regimes in the prevention of armed conflicts. Unfortunately, the world community continues to get confirmation of the fact that the effectiveness of those regimes leaves a great deal to be desired. Among the most obvious examples of this is Kosovo, where the peacekeeping forces regularly discover new weapons caches that nurture the seeds of violence in that area and are one of the reasons for the absence of any stability in that part of the world.

The Russian Federation attaches paramount importance to improving such important means of preventing armed conflicts as early warning systems, using the potential of the Secretary-General, cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations, and making more effective use of programmes in the demobilization, disarmament and reintegration of ex-combatants into civilian life. The role of civilian police is equally important in the preventive action of the United Nations.

We believe that these elements should become part and parcel of a comprehensive strategy for the prevention of conflicts, the need for which is referred to in the draft presidential statement of the Council prepared on Jamaica's initiative. Such a strategy should be developed while taking into account the opinions and thinking of the Members States of the United Nations. In this connection, we would like to reiterate our readiness to make our contribution to collecting information that can subsequently become raw material for the preparation of a report of the Secretary-General on this topic.

The Russian Federation is fully aware of its responsibility as a permanent member of the Security Council, and is prepared to continue to promote the exploration of ways and means of enhancing the effectiveness of the efforts of the Security Council to prevent armed conflicts.

Mr. Scheffers (Netherlands): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for presiding over a public meeting on another important subject. The Netherlands welcomes your initiative to devote a follow-up open debate to the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts.

Let me also join previous speakers in thanking the Secretary-General for his important, action-oriented presentation.

As stated earlier in our first debate in November last year, my delegation regards conflict prevention as the core of the duties the Security Council is called upon to carry out on behalf of the membership of the United Nations. It lies, naturally and manifestly, at the heart of the Netherlands integrated approach to the Council's agenda. The next portion of my remarks should be seen as complementary to the statement to be made by the representative of France on behalf of the European Union.

Given the ongoing discussion on the scope of responsibilities of the Security Council, the Netherlands wishes to reiterate once more its views on that matter. Everything the Charter has to say on conflict prevention — Chapters VI and VII and Article 99 — appears to have been drafted, more than half a century ago and in the aftermath of the Second World War, with conflicts between States in mind. However, the overwhelming majority of present-day conflicts on the Council's agenda is of an internal, domestic nature, while at the same time threatening international peace and security. In view of its primary responsibilities the Security Council cannot but subscribe to a more flexible interpretation of Article 2, paragraph 7, which stipulates that nothing in the Charter shall authorize the United Nations to intervene in matters that are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

A rigid interpretation of this paragraph would preclude the Council from taking any action, preventive or not, in the majority of issues on its agenda and would therefore prevent the Security Council from shouldering the responsibilities it is called upon to carry out. Conflict prevention by the Security Council has three pillars: early warning, early attention and early action.

The creation of a culture of prevention requires a broad and integrated approach based on the analysis of the root causes of armed conflicts. We often witness the emergence of violent conflicts within States when political, economic, social and ethnic dividing lines coincide in an environment in which the State is suffering from a lack of legitimacy and capacity. In such cases Governments often are unable to resolve conflicts without resorting to violence and repression.

Indeed, resorting to repression is the easiest answer of a weak State to the demands of groups within a society that already feel discriminated against. That repression usually takes the shape of violations of human rights. However, the evident lack of respect for human rights on the part of the State undermines further the legitimacy of that State. The repressed are likely to resort to violence as well, and a spiral of violence ensues.

Recently we have been witnessing conflicts about control of, or access to, natural resources. In such cases economic considerations are at stake, and the struggle is not so much about political power. However, the result is the same: the emergence of armed conflict.

In some cases dormant conflicts are turned into armed conflicts by triggering factors, such as a sudden deterioration of economic perspectives, the demise of a leader, or a flow of small arms and light weapons.

In a culture of prevention, the Council should be especially alert for signs of deterioration, as these constitute a clear early warning. In our view, it stands to reason that international peace and security in their widest sense are best served by democracy, the rule of law, good governance, respect for human rights and sustainable development. Likewise, if these basic conditions are deteriorating within a country, the chances of violent conflicts erupting are mounting. Indeed, one of the most telling indicators of pending conflict is the occurrence of rampant human rights violations. As I indicated before, such abuses reflect a breakdown of the rule of law and can be a prelude to violent domestic conflict, with consequences for international peace and security. Therefore, the Security Council should approach reports of the Commission on Human Rights and of the High Commissioner for Human Rights as potential early-warning documents.

The Netherlands is in favour of the establishment of expert panels by the Secretary-General as early-warning instruments. In this regard, I should like to underline the importance of giving adequate follow-up to early-warning signals, namely, the two other pillars: early attention and early action — in other words, a more proactive approach is called for.

The Netherlands is in favour of enlarging the financial resources at the disposal of the Secretary-General for preventive diplomacy — for instance, for financing fact-finding missions and his special representatives. Therefore the Netherlands, along with other Member States, has contributed substantially to the Trust Fund for Preventive Action. Out of this Trust Fund activities instrumental to conflict prevention can be financed, such as expert meetings, the organization of peace talks, the establishment of a local United Nations representation, and missions of special representatives in order to improve communications between the United Nations and the government concerned.

In this context, I should like to point out that the Netherlands would prefer that the Secretary-General be able to finance such activities from the regular budget and that the Netherlands is only contributing to the Trust Fund awaiting agreement on this matter.

The foundations for post-conflict peace-building should be laid during peace negotiations, which should involve all segments of society in order to create broad support for the peace process. Negotiations held solely at a high political level will result only in paper agreements without support in society. Therefore cooperation with non-governmental organizations is of vital importance for the peace process to take root and to succeed.

Furthermore, peace agreements often do not really address the root causes which have led to armed conflict. In the post-conflict phase, ample attention should be given to those causes in order to prevent a rekindling of armed conflict. Of equal importance in the post-conflict situation are the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants in society. All in all, for security and development to be mutually reinforcing elements of a sustainable peace, reform of the security sector is essential.

In conclusion, Sir, my delegation considers the presidential statement which you are going to read out to be a welcome and useful follow-up document. That statement covers very extensively and comprehensively many, if not all, aspects of the issue of preventing armed conflicts, which is and remains very much at the core of the Council's responsibilities. Let us indeed use this document as a catalyst for concrete actions with renewed vigour.

Mr. Wang Yingfan (China) (*spoke in Chinese*): At the outset, Sir, I wish to welcome your presence among us and to express my satisfaction at seeing you preside over this meeting. I would like also to welcome

the Secretary-General's important statement on conflict prevention.

It is the Chinese delegation's long-held view that timely and effective preventive measures taken before conflict erupts are the most fruitful. They help not only to avert the loss of life and property but also to preserve resources. For this reason, we would like to thank the delegation of Jamaica for its initiative in arranging this open debate.

As the manifestations and causes of conflicts vary throughout the world, measures taken by the United Nations to prevent them will also vary from case to case. However, they all must be taken in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. Given the ultimate aim of conflict prevention, actions taken by the international community should focus on the peaceful resolution of conflicts and avoid exacerbating tensions or giving rise to new ones.

The Security Council has already taken some positive measures in this regard, including the sending of fact-finding missions to areas of conflict; the holding of a greater number of open debates on specific issues; and the strengthening of the implementation of Article 99 of the Charter, in encouraging the Secretary-General to play his rightful role in this regard. All of these commendable measures have enriched the Council's experience in handling issues involving international peace and security.

The Chinese delegation maintains that all conflict-prevention measures must respect the political independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries concerned and the will of their Governments and peoples. The principle of non-interference in internal affairs is essential in guiding United Nations conflict-prevention activities. Preventive measures should be taken only upon request or with the consent and cooperation of the countries concerned. As to issues such as the setting up of early-warning systems or the sending of fact-finding or other special missions, which bear on the sovereignty of a State, prior consent must be obtained from the countries or parties concerned. Otherwise, not only will the goal of conflict prevention not be achieved, but many complex problems, or even new conflicts, may arise. Before any major decisions are made, it is imperative that the Security Council consider the views of, and the information provided by, all sides in a neutral and fair manner.

Conflict prevention has begun to serve as an important means to solve conflicts peacefully. The Security Council, which shoulders the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, should play a leading role in conflict prevention. At the same time, it should attach importance to the role of regional organizations and cooperate with them. Such cooperation, however, should be carried out on the basis of the observance, by the regional organizations, of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, as well as relevant stipulations of Chapter VIII of the Charter. By accepting the guidance and monitoring of the United Nations, regional organizations will be able to win cooperation from the United Nations and more extensive support from the international community, thus functioning more constructively in preventive diplomacy.

As many countries have stressed, in order to prevent armed conflicts more effectively, importance has to be given to addressing the fundamental issue of the economic development of the many developing countries. Otherwise, the prevention of armed conflicts will end up curing merely symptoms rather than root causes and reacting passively to one situation after another. Therefore, the promotion of economic and social development in developing countries is of great relevance to the prevention of armed conflicts.

It is gratifying that the issue of conflict prevention has attracted increasing attention. However, a closer analysis shows that the United Nations still lacks sufficient practice in this field. Some measures remain at a conceptual stage; others, though already adopted, need to be tested by practice. Therefore, to guarantee the success of United Nations conflict-prevention activities, it is critical that experience be built up and that lessons be learned continuously on the basis of experience. To this end, the Chinese delegation is willing to work together with all other delegations to continue to contribute actively to this endeavour.

The President: I thank the representative of China for his kind words.

Mr. Ben Mustapha (Tunisia) (*spoke in French*): The Tunisian delegation is grateful to you, Sir, for having scheduled this formal meeting of the Security Council to consider a question of such importance as

that of the prevention of armed conflict. This issue is at the very heart of the concerns of the United Nations and the international community as a whole, and for good reason.

The experience that has been gained by the United Nations over the years, particularly from its intense and diverse actions to settle conflicts during the past decade, offers us many lessons that are worthy of greater attention on the part of the Security Council as the body with the principal responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Prevention is better than cure, as per the well-known old saw, whose wisdom remains unchanged. In the geopolitical field, prevention can save thousands of human lives and preserve valuable resources for development. We have seen how the human and material costs of conflicts have risen in the many conflict situations of the 1990s — situations in which some 80,000 United Nations Blue Helmets have been involved in peacekeeping operations.

Today more than ever, conflict prevention should be elevated to the level of a global, integrated strategy, with the aim of ensuring not only the absence of conflicts but also conditions most conducive to peace. These conditions could be of a political, economic, social or cultural nature. The international community has the means of pursuing this strategy. It must also have the constant determination to do so.

Per its prerogatives under the Charter regarding the preservation of international peace and security, the Security Council has a part to play in the prevention of armed conflicts, whether this involves preventing the outbreak of conflicts or preventing their resurgence. Here, one means available to the Council is preventive deployment, to which it should resort whenever necessary. Of course this should be done while respecting the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries concerned and acting with the consent of the relevant Governments.

Preventive disarmament is another means of action available to the Council. In the context of peacekeeping operations, the programmes for the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of ex-combatants have undoubtedly had a decisive affect on preventing the recurrence of conflicts, but also, in the longer term, in consolidating the foundations of peace. Also decisive are all actions aimed at supporting the fight against the trafficking in and circulation of arms, particularly small arms and light weapons. The excessive and destablizing stockpiling of these weapons encourages violence and is a means of waging war. It is up to the Security Council to ensure respect for the various arms embargos that it imposes on countries in which armed conflicts are occurring.

Regional organizations have an important role to play in conflict prevention. Chapter VIII of the Charter of the United Nations provides an appropriate framework for cooperation and coordination among the regional organizations and the United Nations, in particular the Security Council and the Secretary-General. The ways and means of this cooperation have to be strengthened by setting up appropriate strategies of cooperation, including in the areas of early warning and information exchange.

In this context, my delegation emphasizes the need to strengthen the conflict-prevention capacity of the Organization of African Unity, in particular its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The creation of this Mechanism several years ago demonstrates the determination of Africa to reduce the impact of conflicts, a determination that requires the political and financial support of the international community.

The role of the Secretary-General in conflict prevention is an essential one, which he exercises in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter. This Article authorizes him to bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore, preventive diplomacy provides the Secretary-General considerable leeway with respect to conflict prevention, which he can make use of either directly or through his special envoys.

We believe that a sound and viable long-term strategy for conflict prevention must take into account the underlying causes of conflicts and the violence that feeds them and results from them. Such a strategy must note that conflicts often originate in the poor economic and social conditions — underdevelopment, poverty and destitution — of the people in the countries affected by conflicts. We believe that really tackling economic and social development needs would make a substantial contribution to eliminating the causes of the conflict and violence that are rampant in several parts of the world. The case of the African continent is particularly instructive in this regard.

The international community must reiterate its commitment to international economic cooperation for development. This should include according to development assistance the attention and importance it deserves. Furthermore, sustained attention should be given to post-conflict peace-building, which requires the urgent mobilization of resources for economic reconstruction. This is one of the bases for the restoration of normalcy in a post-conflict situation. To this end, there needs to be increased coordination between the United Nations, the United Nations Development Programme, the Bretton Woods institutions and aid donors.

In sum, what the international community has to do now is to define a coherent conflict-prevention strategy that takes into account all the dimensions of the question, which are interdependent and complementary. These dimensions are the political, military and security issues, as well as economic and social considerations and a renewed international commitment to effectively preventing such conflicts while, at the same time, preserving respect for the fundamental principles that form the basis of the system of international relations. These principles are respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs. This is a true culture of prevention, which needs to be developed in the framework of mutual respect.

Mr. Hasmy (Malaysia): I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to you, Sir, and the delegation of Jamaica for convening this open meeting of the Council to revisit this enormously important subject of the prevention of armed conflict, which the Council deliberated on in November last year. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his very important statement, which provides a useful setting for our discussion this morning.

Much has been said today on the subject and my statement this morning will be relatively brief, since I addressed the issue in a substantive fashion on that previous occasion. My delegation agrees with many of the points that have been made, both in terms of the substance and of the approach to be taken in pursuing this important subject. We agree that there is a need for the United Nations to embark on preventive diplomacy and preventive action as a more cost-effective approach than mounting a peacekeeping operation after a conflict has erupted. The Secretary-General put the subject in its proper context today and last November, and hit the nail squarely on the head when he said in that earlier debate that

> "the case for prevention of conflict hardly needs restating. Quite simply, it is cost-effective, in financial as well as human terms". (*S/PV.4072*, p. 2)

We also agree on the need for greater coordination and cooperation on the part of the entire United Nations system in the area of conflict prevention, including addressing the root causes of conflicts, which, as the Secretary-General has put it, are often deep-rooted and involve socio-economic factors such as, *inter alia*, poverty and underdevelopment, repression and discrimination. These must be seriously addressed by the Governments concerned, with the support and understanding of the international community. These Governments must be assisted and encouraged to move in the direction of good governance, which is an essential underpinning of domestic peace and stability. We would also underscore the importance of increased coordination and support within the United Nations system, particularly in respect of the mobilization of resources for conflict-prevention activities.

The presidential statement adopted in November last year and the draft presidential statement which the Council will adopt at the end of this meeting, while not exhaustive, contain virtually all of the elements that, if acted upon by the Council and the international community, will go a long way towards making preventive diplomacy and preventive action an integral part of the work of the United Nations, thereby making prevention one of the main tasks of this Organization, to cite the words of the Secretary-General himself.

In our view, the concept of preventive diplomacy or preventive action should also include conflict situations in which there is neither peace nor war, such as the situation prevailing in Somalia. We should not wait for war to break out again in that country before we act.

I would like the remainder of my statement to take up a point made by the Secretary-General in November last year. During that previous debate, the Secretary-General suggested that the Council — indeed, challenged it to — examine how it could make prevention a tangible part of its day-to-day work. To meet this challenge, the Council would have to reorient itself from its usually reactive approach to the

management of conflict to one of pre-empting or preventing conflicts. This would require a deliberate and conscious effort on the part of the Council to set aside a part of its monthly work programme for an in-depth analysis of potential conflict situations and to formulate appropriate strategies and approaches on how best to handle these potential crises.

For this purpose, the Council would benefit tremendously from timely and in-depth briefings by the Secretariat on potential conflict situations that would be brought to the attention of the Council by the Secretary-General by virtue of Article 99 of the Charter, which should be invoked more frequently than it has been in the past. The Secretary-General is been entrusted, indeed empowered, to do so by the Charter and should be encouraged to invoke this prerogative to give substance to the concept of conflict preventive.

Of course, because of the political sensitivities involved, it may well be necessary for such discussions to be conducted in a more informal and restricted setting than is provided for under present arrangements. Indeed, given the working methods and procedures of the Council, which constrain innovative actions, it is perhaps more appropriate for the Secretary-General to take the initiative on discussions of preventive diplomacy by convening such informal exchanges of views. Whatever the format, an appropriate time can be set aside by the Council for such exchange of views. In the interest of preventive diplomacy, the larger membership of the Organization will, in our view, not begrudge a certain lack of transparency on the part of the Council on matters where discretion is required.

It goes without saying that there is a need for the Secretariat to enhance its early-warning capability to be better able to serve the Secretary-General and the Council in this area of conflict prevention. The Department of Political Affairs will have to be further strengthened and resources made available to enable it to make a real contribution to this aspect of the work of the Council. To a certain extent, Member States with the capability to do so can assist the Secretariat through regular sharing of vital information pertaining to threats to peace and security, but this can, at best, be supplementary in nature and cannot replace its own independent means of information-gathering and analysis.

Such activities can be further augmented by more frequent use of fact-finding missions, either by the Secretary-General or by the Council itself — an idea which has been suggested by the Secretary-General and which was in fact successfully put to use when the Council despatched its mission to Jakarta and Dili last year. That mission, however — like the missions to Kosovo, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Ethiopia and Eritrea — was not entirely preventive in nature, as conflict had already erupted before the Council acted.

A truly preventive action or preventive diplomacy would involve the despatch of a mission to a potential area of conflict that has not erupted and which results in averting the conflict. Such missions, of course, lie more appropriately in the realm of preventive diplomacy, as opposed to preventive action, and might perhaps be best handled by the Secretary-General or his emissary in the context of his good offices or by individual Member States that are prepared to undertake such quiet and sensitive diplomacy. In my view, such discreet diplomacy, without the threat of the use of force, may well fall within the concept of intervention that the Secretary-General has been talking about for some time now and about which he may well have been greatly misunderstood.

In this context, I am inclined to agree with the opinion expressed by Ambassador Dejammet, the former Permanent Representative of France, when he said during the previous debate on this same issue that

> "one must not confuse debate with having recourse to force, which comes under other provisions that are precise and limiting. The Council can take up an issue and take preventive measures without necessarily envisaging the use of force." (*Ibid.*, p. 10)

In considering these possibilities, it is important, of course, for the Council to be guided by the principles of respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States, enshrined in the Charter.

My delegation associates itself fully with the draft presidential statement to be adopted at the end of this meeting. What is needed now is for the Council to act on these important ideas and proposals, lest it be accused of continued inaction on this enormously important subject. As a member of the Council, in the remaining five months of its membership, Malaysia will play its part in encouraging the Council to meet

the Secretary-General's challenge that it make prevention a tangible part of its work, if not on a day-to-day basis, at least initially under a regular, perhaps monthly basis.

Mr. Keita (Mali) (*spoke in French*): I should like to join previous speakers in conveying to you, Mr. President, my delegation's appreciation for placing the question of conflict prevention on the Security Council's agenda. I should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his important statement. The recommendations he made earlier this morning deserve our very close attention.

The end of bloc confrontation at the beginning of 1990s, the aspiration of peoples for greater freedom and democracy and the emergence of nationalism across continents have, in recent years, given rise to grave crises which have resulted in the forced displacement of entire peoples, the targeting of civilians and massacres of all sorts. As the Secretary-General said, at least 5 million people have lost their lives in recent years.

In keeping with its universal vocation, the United Nations has done and is doing its utmost to find adequate solutions to these crises wherever they arise. It has considerably strengthened its capacity to tackle such challenges. But this mission should not be confined solely to conflict settlement. The Secretariat now needs to consider ways of bolstering its conflict-prevention capacities and to give prevention all the attention it deserves. We are very pleased, therefore, to note that a focal point for conflict prevention issues has been designated.

My delegation would like to confine itself to making three brief comments.

First, with regard to support for conflict-prevention mechanisms and regional cooperation, a number of initiatives have been taken in recent years at the regional and subregional levels. Although these conflict-prevention mechanisms have not all been successful, they nonetheless deserve support. At the subregional level, in the West African region, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has set up a peace and mediation committee with responsibility for examining matters affecting States, and it is contributing to peacekeeping through the Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group (ECOMOG). Cooperation between ECOMOG and the United Nations has contributed not only to re-establishing peace in Liberia but to preventing the resurgence of conflict in that country.

Furthermore, the satisfactory initiative of the Group of Eight, as reflected in the Miyazaki document, is very welcome. We look forward to its effective implementation.

My delegation would like to stress that there is a need for the United Nations to support the efforts of the various regions in the context of the conflict-prevention mechanisms that they have established. In this regard, the Security Council should provide all necessary support.

Secondly, with regard to the proliferation of weapons and the illegal exploitation of natural resources, it is incontestable that the illicit and unbridled accumulation of small arms and light weapons is fuelling and worsening conflicts. The West African subregion, which saw the danger of this phenomenon, established a moratorium on light weapons after my country launched an initiative to collect such arms. In this context, it set up a community assistance programme for security and development, whose principal mission is to reduce the number of light weapons and control their proliferation.

Measures to collect light weapons and reduce their numbers, to strengthen controls over the legal trade of such weapons and to promote transparency in this area should be undertaken at the regional level in order to prevent conflict. Furthermore, the link between the illegal accumulation of small arms and the illegal exploitation of natural resources has been clearly demonstrated. Recent events are an eloquent testimony to this fact. The entire international community, especially those that profit from this trade, needs to work together to take appropriate measures to ensure that the trade in natural resources, particularly diamonds, is ethical.

Thirdly, disarmament, demobilization and reintegration at the end of a conflict must be accorded priority if we are to ensure that hostilities do not break out again. In his report on the role of United Nations peacekeeping operations in disarmament, demobilization and reintegration, the Secretary-General highlighted a number of key elements necessary for the success of that process and proposed measures that the United Nations could take for the more effective

support of future efforts. In this context, we share the view that the bases for an effective disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programme must be established in the peace agreement that brings a conflict to an end.

It is also important to ensure adequate technical and financial support for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes. In this regard, my delegation welcomes the participation of financial institutions in the process under way and supports the increasingly constructive attitude of the private sector.

Lastly, the question of child soldiers must be taken into account at all levels in long-term programmes, including economic development programmes. The success of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration activities is vital if we are to avoid further conflict.

Economic development remains the surest foundation for lasting peace and security. Conflict prevention therefore needs to be underpinned by balanced development assistance programmes involving the active participation of civil society.

In conclusion, my delegation would like to advocate the emergence of a genuine culture of prevention based on preventive diplomacy, respect for international law and democratic norms and the reduction of poverty. My delegation fully supports the presidential statement that will be issued later.

Mr. Andjaba (Namibia): I wish to join others in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your initiative to convene this very important meeting on conflict prevention. We also thank the Secretary-General for his broad and thoughtful introductory statement at this meeting, and in particular for the excellent proposals he put forward. My delegation also wishes to commend him for his commitment and dedication to conflict prevention.

Like the HIV/AIDS pandemic, conflicts are in the process of devastating Africa. The situation requires a concerted and multifaceted approach by the Security Council and other partners to prevent them. That is the reason why my delegation commends you, Mr. President, and your delegation for initiating the comprehensive draft presidential statement which we will issue later today. It takes forward and elaborates the Council's work on this very important subject.

The root causes of conflict in Africa remain poverty and underdevelopment. History has proved that if we are to achieve any progress in conflict prevention, these problems have to be solved. The underlying causes, such as the proliferation of small arms and light weapons and the illegal exploitation of natural resources, in particular diamonds, further exacerbate the situation. I will return to this point later.

The primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security rests with the Security Council. However, the effective prevention of the outbreak or re-emergence of conflict requires concerted efforts from a number of actors, including Member States, the Secretary-General, regional organizations and international agencies. Since its successful mission to Jakarta and Dili last year, the Council has been making increasing use of similar missions as part of its preventive diplomacy, a practice that should be continued and expanded.

The Secretary-General, through his good offices, increasingly plays an essential role in conflict prevention through, *inter alia*, his capacity to mediate and negotiate and by dispatching envoys or special representatives to areas of conflict or potential conflict. Of utmost importance also is the information he provides to the Council about matters that may pose a threat to peace and security. The Council should support the Secretary-General in his efforts and make all necessary resources available to him.

My delegation highly appreciates the important role that women are playing in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building. We strongly support their increased participation in all aspects of conflict prevention and resolution.

Regional organizations and arrangements, in line with their mandate under Chapter VIII of the Charter, are also playing an increasingly important role in the maintenance of peace and security and in conflict prevention, as was proved in recent situations. However, when it comes to intervention by regional organizations, this must be done with the authorization of the Security Council as provided for in Article 53 of the Charter. Furthermore, the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States must be respected.

My delegation welcomes the expanding relationship between the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity (OAU), especially in

conflict prevention, peacekeeping, peacemaking and conflict resolution.

The huge risks and costs, both in civilian life and in financial terms, and the destruction, human rights abuses and suffering caused by conflicts lend urgency to the need for the Council to shift focus faster from reaction to conflicts to conflict prevention. To achieve this, the Council must continuously examine and evaluate the means and measures at its disposal to prevent conflicts. Central to this is the most valuable aspect of conflict prevention, namely, the creation of a culture of prevention. Ways to accomplish this need to be identified. In addition, it must be recognized that measures such as early warning, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment, preventive disarmament and pre- and post-conflict peace-building are interdependent and complementary components of a comprehensive conflict prevention strategy. Furthermore, the existing tools for conflict prevention, such as those provided for in Article 33 of the Charter, can be further strengthened and complemented.

For early warning we must adopt effective measures to avert tragedies in different parts of the world. The United Nations should thus not only strengthen and improve its own early warning mechanisms but should also contribute further, together with the international community, to the establishment and functioning of similar systems with regional organizations and arrangements. It is regrettable that some of these already existing systems are hampered by insufficient financing for appropriate operations.

Effective conflict prevention by the Council rests on early action in response to early warning through the above-mentioned mechanisms. The prerogative, therefore, rests largely with the Council in many situations to foster the necessary political will to react to warnings and to threats against peace and security. The action required would be either to prevent conflicts or to prevent a recurrence of hostilities after peace arrangements, often fragile, have been reached. In this regard, it remains crucial for the Council to deploy fully and speedily in the Democratic Republic of Congo in order to prevent further escalation of the conflict. Similarly, in Sierra Leone, the troop strength and the mandate of the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) need to be strengthened.

I now wish to say a few words on some of the underlying factors that fuel conflicts, particularly in Africa. Primary among these are the illegal exploitation of and trade in natural resources, in particular diamonds, and the accumulation of and illicit trafficking in small arms and heavy weapons. In order to prevent conflict, efforts to curb the exploitation and trafficking should be elaborated and strengthened. Furthermore, Member States should adhere to their legal and moral responsibilities to strictly implement the existing measures against these activities. We commend the steps already undertaken by Member States and other organizations to implement these measures.

In conclusion, Mr. President, for the Security Council to continue to play its role in conflict prevention, a strong political commitment from all Member States, complemented by provision of adequate resources, remains crucial. In short, they form an integral part of the effective prevention of conflict and the maintenance of international peace and security.

Mr. Fowler (Canada) (*spoke in French*): The Council's first thematic consideration of conflict prevention in November 1999 was an important initial step towards creating the culture of prevention called for by the Secretary-General in his address to the General Assembly last fall and repeated in his Millennium Report. We welcome the initiative of the Jamaican delegation and your personal presence today, Mr. Minister, for it underlines the importance of preventing armed conflicts and allows us to take stock of progress made and the challenges that remain to achieving this goal.

It is important to recognize that progress has been made. In Canada's time on the Council its security agenda has expanded gradually to include issues such as war-affected children, protection of civilians, terrorism, small arms, HIV/AIDS, refugees and an increasing number of humanitarian concerns. While the Council's engagement on these questions has been largely thematic and theoretical, in some cases, talk has led to action, for example by giving several peacekeeping operations explicit mandates to protect civilians. Also, the Council is beginning to recognize the importance of the economic underpinnings of conflict and, for example, has banned illicit diamonds from Sierra Leone. By tackling these new sources of conflict, the Council is contributing to the culture of prevention.

The challenge now and in the future is to take action on these new security priorities. Repeated debates in New York are not enough.

In an age where conflicts are increasingly defined by violations of human rights and humanitarian law, and in particular by the deliberate targeting of people and their communities, conflict-prevention strategies must include efforts to end the culture of impunity.

The International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia act as an important deterrent to those who commit war crimes and crimes against humanity by showing them that they are accountable for these crimes. The Council's efforts to address responsibility for the egregious crimes committed in Sierra Leone indicate that flagrant and systematic violation of human rights will not go unpunished.

As Canada has stressed repeatedly, the establishment of the International Criminal Court will serve as an even more powerful deterrent to human rights abuse by giving the international community a standing capacity to prosecute the most serious crimes ever known to humankind, rather than relying on an ad hoc approach.

(*spoke in English*)

More effective sanctions and peace operations can also contribute to conflict prevention. Preventive peace deployments obviously have an even more direct deterrent effect. As conflict is most likely to break out where it has occurred before, peace operations require the mandates and resources needed to prevent the resurgence of conflict. This is an area where progress has been slow. The events of May in Sierra Leone brought home the pitfalls of under-resourcing peace operations. In addition to fielding missions that are not always equal to the demands on the ground, the capacity to plan and deploy them rapidly is still seriously lacking. Unfortunately, the Council's decision-making on peacekeeping mandates continues to be unduly driven by outside political and financial considerations rather than realistic operational imperatives. We are encouraged, therefore, that today's Presidential Statement stresses the need to fully take into account military requirements and factors on the ground in the design phase of peacekeeping mandates.

In the same vein, Canada strongly welcomes the Secretary-General's initiative to establish a high-level panel to review all aspects of United Nations peacekeeping operations. We look forward to what we hope will be a candid report, addressing not only the shortcomings of the United Nations Organization, but also the role of Member States and the changes that are needed to improve United Nations peacekeeping. We hope and expect the report to focus on enhancing the conflict prevention capacity of peace operations.

We are more encouraged by recent steps to improve the instrument of sanctions. In Angola, the Council has launched an unprecedented effort to make the sanctions against UNITA work. I thank the Secretary-General and Ambassador Greenstock for their generous references to our efforts in this regard. Our successes, however, are only those of the Council and, in my view, demonstrate what can be achieved when this body is unanimously committed to achieving concrete results. The Council's work in such circumstances can have a real impact.

Yesterday I returned from the World Diamond Congress in Antwerp, where representatives of the diamond manufacturers and the diamond bourses adopted an important — indeed, I would say — stunning resolution which, when fully implemented, would prevent the bulk of conflict diamonds from reaching legitimate diamond markets and would do so without imposing collateral damage on the legitimate diamond trade. The issue of conflict diamonds dominated the World Diamond Congress, and I think it is fair to say that it has captured the interest of the international media. It is clear that, over the past few months, the diamond industry has decided to take this Council's invitation to collaborate with it in controlling the estimated four per cent of world diamond production that contributes to fuelling armed conflict. This collaboration will deny revenue to those who would pursue their nefarious objectives by force of arms. It will, therefore, make a real contribution to our collective efforts to prevent conflict.

The expert panel process devised for Angola is now being contemplated in Sierra Leone and in the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The establishment of such panels to investigate the role of natural resources in fuelling the conflicts in the Democratic Republic of the Congo is also a positive step, at least in addressing the factors that motivate and sustain such conflict. We believe that the creation of the Council's first-ever informal working group to study the overall effectiveness of sanctions, under the chairmanship of Ambassador Chowdhury, is yet another positive

development. More effective sanctions will enhance the Council's efforts at ending and preventing conflict. I repeat Canada's call to make greater use of targeted sanctions as a preventive measure, rather than only imposing them once conflict has erupted.

There has also been some limited progress on adapting the Council's working methods to the requirements of conflict prevention. Last December, the Council agreed to use more flexible and inclusive meeting formats, which have been employed on a number of occasions since then. This, we believe, has had a positive impact in attracting a "buy-in" from the broader United Nations membership. There is still too much scope, however, for excluding pressing security issues from our agenda and for ignoring voices that should be heard. For example, the Council should be more responsive to the early warning signals of conflict provided by information on human rights abuse from the Commission on Human Rights and other credible sources. Regular briefings of the Council by human rights rapporteurs would, we believe, be useful in this regard.

Enhanced cooperation and coordination with regional organizations is important. Interaction between regional organizations and the United Nations has been critical — but, let's face it — far from perfect, in situations such as Sierra Leone, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the conflict between Ethiopia and Eritrea. In these cases, regional and sub-regional organizations have taken the lead in the negotiation of peace agreements, and the United Nations has followed in the implementation phase. For such joint efforts to succeed, closer coordination — effective coordination — through all stages of conflict management remains vital, particularly if the United Nations is to avoid facing unrealistic expectations.

There will continue to be occasions when our best efforts at conflict prevention fail. In these circumstances, the international community should take decisive action to end and resolve conflicts, specifically those marked by a humanitarian imperative or gross violations of human rights. Such robust action, including humanitarian intervention, can, we believe, serve as a deterrent against future conflicts or violations of international law. Canada supports the Secretary-General's call in his Millennium Report for further debate on humanitarian intervention, and we will do our part to move this admittedly controversial issue forward.

Our focus on conflict prevention in the Security Council today is a welcome complement to discussions last week among the foreign ministers of the Group of Eight. Conflict prevention will also be discussed by G-8 leaders at the Okinawa Summit this weekend. We hope that this mutual reinforcement of common goals will continue.

Momentum is clearly building in favour of a culture of prevention. The where-with-all to make it happen is, however, sorely lacking. The risks and the costs, both human and financial, of taking action after conflict has erupted ought to be the best incentives for conflict prevention. Efforts by the international community must, however, be matched by a commitment by all concerned to assume ownership over conflict prevention strategies. Attempts to import solutions from the outside will not go far if the will to pursue peace and avoid conflict is not shared within the societies in question. Internal issues, ranging from good governance and respect for human rights to how scarce resources are allocated to protect human life, are key to the prevention of conflict and must be addressed forthrightly by all concerned. We are prepared to do our part, and we call on those who are engaged in conflict or are susceptible to it to do their part to contribute to establishing a culture of prevention.

In conclusion, I fully agree with the Secretary-General's comments this morning that we need to decide on practical measures for prevention, and then we need to act. Canada looks forward to the Secretary-General's report in this regard next May, and we will do all we can to encourage the Council to greater specific action.

Mr. Kuchynski (Ukraine): Like previous speakers, I would like to thank your delegation, Mr. President, for calling today's open debate on such important and multifaceted subject as the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts. We are honoured and pleased to take part in this debate under your presidency.

We would also like to thank the Secretary-General for his comprehensive statement on the subject under discussion.

It is generally recognized that the modern world is still characterized by the persistence of armed conflicts, which continue to cause human losses and mass violations of human rights, as well as economic, social and cultural devastation. In addition, since the

1990s internal armed conflicts have been steadily on the rise.

The root causes of armed conflicts are numerous and complex. They originate from different political, historical, economic and cultural backgrounds and are based on the lack of sustainable development, democracy, the rule of law and good governance, and the presence of long-standing inter-ethnic and inter-religious intolerance.

At the same time, while there is no full unanimity among the membership of the United Nations about approaches to eliminate the root causes of armed conflicts, no one disputes that armed conflicts can be avoided. We also feel that there is a widely growing consensus that an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure. In our view, it is high time to make a transition from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention, as proposed by the Secretary-General in his annual report. The strategies for conflict prevention outlined by the Secretary-General in his report therefore have our full understanding and support.

We also share the view that since the causes of conflicts are often nurtured in the minds of men, the promotion of a culture of peace is an indispensable element of conflict prevention. In this connection, my delegation fully subscribes to all the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace adopted by the General Assembly, and looks forward to their implementation.

We think that the leading role of the Security Council in the area of conflict prevention should be maintained and strengthened. The prevention, containment and elimination of armed conflicts constitute a major task of this body, in view of its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. At the same time, the task of eliminating the root causes of armed conflicts — in particular those of an economic, social and humanitarian nature — falls largely under the mandate of other principal bodies and specialized agencies of the United Nations.

In this regard, we feel that there is a need for increased coordination of efforts and a clear division of labour between the Security Council and other United Nations bodies in the area of conflict prevention. Moreover, it is obvious that the efforts of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies will not yield results unless they are supported by the parties to a dispute and, of course, by all Member States.

Although there are no standard remedies for each single conflict situation, we feel that the Security Council's task could be facilitated through the development of a framework document to define clear-cut principles and criteria for its steps at different stages of conflict prevention. Such a document could provide a basis for decisions of the Security Council on enforcement measures to avert the emergence of armed conflicts within States at an early stage. Once that document is universally accepted, it could substantially enhance the capacity of the Security Council in taking timely action in the prevention of armed conflicts. Ukraine stands ready to participate in further discussions of this subject in practical terms.

It is our strong belief that any preventive measures by the Security Council should be based on the United Nations Charter and on the principles and norms of international law. We are pleased that these principles and norms are clearly spelled out in the draft presidential statement to be adopted today.

My delegation believes that the Security Council should more actively employ, with the consent of host countries, its past experience in preventive deployment missions in areas of likely tensions. In this regard, one can cite the United Nations mission to the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia. In our view, the unique and successful experience of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP), which remains the only preventive deployment mission in the history of United Nations peace-support efforts, should be further exploited and developed.

In view of the recent useful practice of undertaking Security Council missions to various conflict regions, we think that it is also worth considering establishing the practice of regularly visiting conflict-prone States or potential zones of conflict.

Ukraine believes that the Secretary-General plays an essential role in conflict prevention in bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter that may threaten international peace and security, in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter. The Secretary-General is entitled to use actively all available instruments to undertake timely preventive political and diplomatic measures. Those include confidence-building, early-warning, fact-finding, good

offices, mediation and citizen diplomacy measures, as well as the naming of special representatives, envoys and so on.

My country maintains that cooperation between the United Nations and regional organizations and arrangement in the field of the prevention of armed conflicts could be intensified on the basis of Chapter VIII of the Charter, provided that the key role of the Security Council remains unchanged. In this context, we believe that the African continent still requires continuous and comprehensive assistance of the part of the United Nations. In our view, particular attention should be paid to the enhancement of cooperation with the Organization of African Unity in order to facilitate the further development of its Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution.

Ukraine also welcomes the recent G-8 Miyazaki initiatives for conflict prevention as a demonstration of the continued commitment of those countries to make the prevention of armed conflicts a high priority-issue in the coming years.

Since illicit trafficking in small arms and light weapons contributes significantly to the flaring-up, duration and re-emergence of armed conflicts, the role of preventive disarmament in averting armed conflicts can hardly be overestimated.

In this context, let me recall the initiative of Ukraine to convene, under the auspices of the United Nations, an international meeting of experts of major arms-producing countries, with a view to elaborating effective measures to prevent the reselling of arms from end users to third parties. We believe that the implementation of this proposal could facilitate further activities of the Security Council in elaborating conflict-prevention strategies and fill gaps in the relevant international instruments.

My delegation is of the view that the Security Council would be more successful in discharging its conflict-prevention duties if it could rely on an enhanced United Nations rapid-reaction capability. In this regard, Ukraine would like to see the further development of the United Nations Stand-by Arrangements System and the earliest completion of the establishment of the Rapidly Deployable Mission Headquarters. Next month will mark three years since the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding with the United Nations on Ukraine's contribution, in personnel and in matériel, to that System. Even as I speak, one of the units registered in that Memorandum, namely, a joint Ukrainian-Polish peacekeeping battalion, is being deployed in Kosovo to serve with the Kosovo Force (KFOR). We hope that this battalion's practical experience on the ground will increase its effectiveness with regard to its future participation in the activities of the United Nations Stand-by System.

Over the past six years, Ukraine has consistently advocated the establishment of an effective United Nations preventive mechanism for the global monitoring of, and timely reaction to, potential sources of conflict. We are confident that this challenging and critical task has not lost its urgency. We believe that this subject could be addressed at the ministerial meeting of the Security Council on conflict prevention, which hopefully will be convened next year. My delegation hopes that the current debate and the presidential statement that will be issued, which my delegation fully supports, will effectively contribute to accomplishing this important task.

The President: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Jamaica.

Today the Security Council is taking a careful look at ways in which conflicts might better be averted through creative initiatives by the Council and relevant actors in the international community. As President of the Security Council this month, Jamaica called for discussion on this issue by the Council out of a deep conviction that, unless strong emphasis is placed on conflict prevention, this new century could well become more deadly than the last, with the United Nations and other international bodies caught in an endless struggle to restore peace among warring groups.

My delegation wishes to recognize the valuable work done on this subject during the presidency of Slovenia in November 1999.

The outbreak of new conflicts and the renewal of old hostilities in many parts of the globe has restored a sense of urgency to the debate on conflict prevention that has occupied the attention of the United Nations and other governmental and non-governmental organizations concerned with issues of peace and security. Secretary-General Kofi Annan correctly stated in his 1999 report on the work of the Organization that

the United Nations in the twenty-first century must become increasingly a focus of preventive action.

As many nations grow weary of the burdens of peacemaking and peacekeeping, the challenge to find new paths and stability through the avoidance of war has become more critical. The tragedies witnessed in Rwanda and the Balkans have stirred a global community stung by the horrors of these wars to say "never again". However, the means by which this sentiment may be translated into reality are not altogether clear. The seeds of conflict cannot be wished away by a mere consciousness of the horrors of war. Indeed, parties are not easily deterred from an agenda of war and destruction, even in the face of tremendous human and material costs. The simple fact is that the prevention of conflict is infinitely better than heroic measures to secure victory or restore peace.

The international community must work to find means of defusing the all-too-prevalent circumstances of ethnic hatred, bigotry, religious intolerance and misplaced nationalistic tendencies that so often spiral out of control and lead to violent conflict. It must also pay special attention to the often-overlooked economic underpinnings of such conflict. Poverty, inequality and underdevelopment provide fertile ground for the emergence of tension and deadly conflict among and within communities that can least afford the consequences of hostilities. It is a sad irony that many societies faced with unresolved tensions of one sort or another are often confronted with severe economic hardships. These tensions often define the parties in a struggle for scarce resources and increase the potential for armed conflict.

The international community must convert the fruits of the dialogue on conflict prevention into a road map for peace. Already radical initiatives such as the move by the Security Council to boldly challenge the sinister relationship between diamond trading and bloody conflict in Sierra Leone, Angola and elsewhere in Africa point to a new day in the international community's pursuit of peace. If the political will is summoned to deny the ability of warring factions to sustain their illicit trade in natural resources, a vital lifeline that supports and sustains armed conflict will be degraded, if not destroyed.

Special efforts to deny to similar groups the fruits of trafficking in illicit drugs must also be encouraged. An all-out effort must be made to stem the illicit trafficking of small arms. These weapons are the insidious tools of trade that precipitate and sustain armed conflicts and fuel increasing levels of violent crime, which undermine the fabric of societies and threaten the stability of many small States.

Our focus on prevention of armed conflicts must be founded on practical considerations that can be popularly understood and accepted. The economic costs of conflicts provide a sobering picture at a time when resources for development and poverty eradication are hard to come by and are insufficient to meet the demands of the global community. The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict estimated that the cost to the international community of the seven major wars in the 1990s — not including Kosovo — was $199 billion. The World Bank in that period disbursed some $191 billion. Without taking into account the incalculable effect of the squandering and sacrificing of the lives of young men and women — our most precious resources — in these deadly conflicts, it is clear from a purely economic standpoint that this cycle of self-destruction which threatens so many societies must be averted if humankind is to truly make progress in the twenty-first century.

The international community should not adopt a scale of priorities that gives greater importance to some regions over others. It must base its decisions on the objective merits of each situation — especially the severity of the conflict and the capacity for death and destruction that each brings. As the figures that I cited earlier demonstrate, the cost of war vastly outstrips the resources required for maintaining institutions that promote conflict prevention and resolution. We must commit to providing the United Nations, and to regional bodies concerned with conflict prevention and resolution, the resources necessary to enable timely and effective action to avert or quickly resolve conflicts. Starving these entities of scarce resources is a recipe for continued disaster. At the same time, there must be a renewed commitment to providing the means for empowering societies economically, and to undoing the circumstances of inequity and deprivation that threaten the stability of many of them. A proper mix of economic support, and the fostering of the principles of fairness, justice and good governance in the policies of key institutions, can only assist in the effort to reduce the tensions that often lead to deadly conflict.

A careful examination of the root causes of armed conflict suggests that the answers will not be easy to come by. The hostilities that haunt us are driven by powerful forces that are deeply entrenched. The challenge for the Council is to look beyond the enormity of the challenge, find solutions and chart a course of action for the twenty-first century.

I shall now resume my functions as President of the Council.

Mr. Levitte (France) (*spoke in French*): Thank you, Sir, for having organized this debate and thank you also for having honoured us by your presence.

I have the honour to speak on behalf of the European Union. The Central and Eastern European countries associated with the European Union — Bulgaria, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, Slovakia and Slovenia — and the associated countries, Cyprus and Malta, align themselves with this statement.

The European Union congratulates the Jamaican presidency on organizing this debate on conflict prevention, which is an aspect of the maintenance of international peace and security that is too often overlooked. However, in accordance with Article 1, paragraph 1, of the Charter, one of the purposes of the United Nations is:

> "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace".

Thus, the Secretary-General has rightly called for the development of a "culture of prevention".

First, I would like to underscore the importance of prevention, and also the difficulties it raises. There are several reasons why the prevention of armed conflict arouses less interest than dealing with the effects of armed conflicts themselves. This is particularly regrettable since prevention is always less costly than dealing with conflicts — be this from a human, political, economic or financial perspective. Prevention very often involves discretion more than publicity, perseverance more than action. It seems, therefore, to offer less opportunities to enhance one's political status or media image.

Prevention is not without risk. There is a risk of overreacting or of not reacting enough, of acting too soon or too late. Nevertheless, we must accept this risk, since if we do not take it, we leave ourselves open to even greater difficulties.

The results of prevention are also difficult to assess. How do we know whether a particular action has achieved its aim? How do we learn from a policy of prevention?

Another difficulty with prevention lies in its degree of compatibility with the sovereignty of States. Most of the current conflicts are not direct conflicts between States, but internal conflicts, resulting from economic or political problems — seizure of power and wealth by a political or ethnic group, failure to comply with the rights of minority groups, secessionism and so forth.

It should, of course, be pointed out that local actors have the principal responsibility for prevention. Does this mean, however, that these internal crises and tensions, which may degenerate into conflict, do not involve the international community? In fact, for several years the Security Council has been involved in dealing with internal conflicts that in almost every case have international repercussions.

Preventive action presupposes that at a stage prior to the eruption of the conflict, the Security Council may become involved in a potentially dangerous situation and, if necessary, consider actions. Such a situation has already occurred in the past. The Council has acknowledged its responsibility. This shows that it can and knows how to adapt to developments in the very nature of conflicts, including from the point of view of prevention. Such adaptation should be welcomed and encouraged.

This development, however, should not be confined to the Security Council, but be fully taken up by States themselves and by regional organizations, which have a central role to play in the matter.

Secondly, the European Union considers that the best means of preventing conflicts is to address their fundamental causes. This goes beyond the sphere of competence of the Security Council, yet it is a fundamental aspect of conflict prevention. Responsibility in these areas lies primarily with the States themselves, but international institutions and donors of funds have a not inconsiderable role to play in providing impetus.

The first and not the least aspect of this is of course economic and social development. Poverty

leads to frustration and revolts, which may degenerate into conflicts. Economic development is, therefore, an essential factor in the prevention of conflicts. We cannot emphasize this point enough.

However, such development must be sustainable and harmonious. It must be sustainable so that natural resources are not wasted and economic growth is not achieved to the detriment of future generations. It must be harmonious so that everyone benefits from it. It must, therefore, include a social dimension — public education, sanitation, health-care and equal access by all — men and women — to a decent standard of living.

The most industrialized countries can and must help the developing countries by placing at their disposal technological, financial and human resources and by maintaining an appropriate level of aid, including governmental aid, for development. That is what the European Union has done in adopting an important policy based on cooperation and the openness of its markets.

Furthermore, the rule of law, respect for human rights and the democratic foundations and functioning of political systems must be ensured. A State that respects the fundamental rights of its citizens and has a participatory political system allows not only freedom of expression, but also the possibility of everyone's interests being taken into account, thus reducing the risk that all or part of society will rebel against the State or seek to secede from it. Political life should not boil down to an all-or-nothing approach. Room must be made for political, ethnic and religious minorities, as well as for different regions, so that they need not choose between absence from political life and recourse to armed violence.

Finally, the importance of good governance cannot be overemphasized. Good governance covers several aspects: the exploitation of resources to the benefit of all and not for the enrichment of a small group; the sound management of public finances so as to provide basic services to the entire population; anti-corruption measures; administration in the general interest and not solely in the interest of those in government; and the accountability of leaders. As many examples to the contrary have shown, good governance makes it possible to reduce the risks of conflict arising from shortages, the seizure of power or the effects of a culture of predation.

In addition to addressing causes, it is also necessary to remove the sources of the funding, fuelling and unleashing of conflicts. The international community has become increasingly aware of the need to combat the illegal exploitation of and traffic in natural resources, as well as the production of and traffic in drugs. Armed conflicts are triggered and perpetuated all the more easily if they can be financed by the illegal exploitation of and trade in natural resources, in particular diamonds, which are easy to dispose of and whose origins are difficult to identify, as well as drugs.

The market needs to be regulated so as to abolish illicit trafficking and to increase the transparency of transactions. This involves enhancing cooperation between States, marketing centres, industrialists and regional organizations. It also requires support for the efforts of producer States to enhance their regulations and their means to stop illicit trafficking. Lastly, it involves consideration of how to certify rough diamonds, define codes of conduct for industrialists and establish an international agency responsible for promoting transparency and responsibility.

I will not dwell on the problem of drug trafficking, the extent and complexity of which are well known. I would simply point out that certain conflicts, in particular that in Afghanistan, persist as a result of this sole but very lucrative resource. This explains the great importance of preventive action in that area.

We must also take action against the destabilizing stockpiling of and illicit trafficking in light and small-calibre weapons. Crises degenerate all the more easily into armed conflicts when weapons, in particular light and small-calibre weapons, are readily accessible. Coordinated action in this sphere is an essential aspect of preventing armed conflict.

I am pleased to note that the international community has increasingly mobilized itself in this respect. The sale of light and small-calibre weapons must be regulated so that their transfer at the national, regional and international levels is conducted legally and responsibly. In practice, this requires an entire range of measures: the strengthening of national laws; the development of regional initiatives, such as, for instance, the moratorium imposed by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), the Nairobi Declaration, the action programme conducted jointly by the European Union and the Southern

African Development Community, and the Inter-American Convention of the Organization of American States (OAS); the exchange of information on trafficking; the marking of weapons; anti-trafficking measures; international cooperation to increase the monitoring capacity of States directly affected by the illicit traffic in small arms; the drafting of a protocol on the manufacture of and illicit traffic in firearms; and a reduction in the destabilizing stockpiling of small arms, in particular through the adoption of confidence-building measures and through the collection and destruction of all weapons not legally owned or not necessary to national or community defence or to internal security.

For its part, the European Union is highly sensitive to this problem and has adopted a Code of Conduct on arms exports and a Joint Action on small arms. In this context, the European Union is obviously lending its full support to the convening in 2001 of a United Nations conference on the illicit arms trade in all its aspects.

Beyond the responsibility of States, regional organizations have an important role in the prevention of conflicts. Regional organizations may and should, first, have political and diplomatic machinery for preventing conflicts. Such is the role played by such continental organizations as the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the OAS and the Organization of African Unity, as well as by such subregional organizations as, for instance, ECOWAS in West Africa. They represent the first level for addressing tensions that are mostly of a regional nature and for finding solutions among all the forces directly involved, while ensuring that internal crises and tensions do not draw the countries of a given region into the problem alongside the local protagonists.

We should draw conclusions from the conflict-prevention actions already undertaken by regional organizations so that their role can be enhanced and strengthened. Moreover, the emergence of such organizations where they do not already exist should be encouraged. These regional cooperation agencies are also crucibles in which links of solidarity are formed and economic integration is developed, enabling them to play a preventive role.

The European Union is itself a successful model of conflict prevention. After two world wars unleashed in Europe, the Union arose in the belief that it was necessary to create common economic interests to prevent the resurgence of conflicts and that every country should have sufficient interest in and with its neighbours to make war impossible. Indeed, after centuries of tearing one another apart, the States members of the European Union have lived in peace for over half a century. The lesson to be drawn from this European success story is that it is better to share and jointly exploit resources than to pillage one's neighbours. The lesson holds good in particular for problems of access to and distribution of water resources, which have become increasingly vital.

We can only rejoice that this path has been chosen by regional organizations, such as the Economic Community of West African States and the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

Finally, what is the role of the United Nations and what are the means at its disposal for the prevention of armed conflict? Bearing in mind the diversity of the questions dealt with in the context of conflict prevention, many United Nations bodies, specialized agencies, funds and programmes have a role to play. In this Security Council debate, I will concentrate on the role of the Council.

The main responsibility of the Security Council for peacekeeping and security also extends to the prevention of armed conflict. It falls to it to investigate any dispute or situation to determine whether that dispute or situation could degenerate into armed conflict and to take appropriate measures. The Council must assume that responsibility in full, taking into account the change in the nature of conflicts, 90 per cent of which now take place within States. Its effectiveness will be also be improved if greater account is taken of that dimension.

In this context, we should remind ourselves of the role of the Secretary-General in alerting the Security Council in accordance with Article 99 of the Charter. The Secretary-General must not hesitate to draw the Security Council's attention to certain situations. The Secretariat's early-warning, reaction and analysis capabilities should therefore be bolstered so that the Secretary-General is better able to perform that task.

I should like to emphasize that particular aspect of our message. The Security Council has at its disposal a range of resources, of which it must avail itself as necessary. I should like to mention a few of them. They include Security Council missions, of

which there has been a welcome revival recently, and which we must be able to send not only when conflict breaks out, but further down the line; preventive disarmament measures and arms embargoes for preventive purposes; measures to combat illegal trafficking in mineral raw materials and embargoes on diamonds; the establishment of demilitarized zones; and measures for preventive deployment, including civilian police. The Security Council must progressively develop all of these measures.

In conclusion, we are gratified to see the Security Council becoming increasingly aware of the importance of preventive action. This new interest must now be translated into action and decision-making. Beyond the Council, the entire international community, United Nations specialized bodies and agencies, regional organizations and Member States must develop that dimension more effectively and acquire a culture of prevention. Furthermore, an integrated approach is also essential, extending from the prevention of conflict to the consolidation of peace after conflict, so as to break the vicious cycle of unavoidable conflict and unachievable peace.

It is for the Security Council to implement the recommendations made here today in specific cases. This topic warrants greater, sustained attention. It would therefore be useful for the Secretary-General to give us his views and recommendations on the matter, as requested in the draft presidential statement to be adopted later, and for the Security Council to examine them in due course, if possible at ministerial level.

The President: The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Japan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Satoh (Japan): I would like to thank you, Mr. President, for convening this meeting on conflict prevention, and for providing us with the opportunity to present our views on this important issue. This meeting is a further testimony to the importance which the Security Council attaches to conflict prevention in the maintenance of world peace and security.

Considering the cost of armed conflict in terms of human suffering and material destruction, not to mention of post-conflict national rehabilitation and reconstruction, the importance of resolving a dispute before it escalates into a conflict is all too obvious.

The Government of Japan believes that the international community should address situations of potential conflict by taking a comprehensive approach that combines political, economic, social and humanitarian measures, taking into account the specific requirements of the situation. We consider it particularly important to try to eliminate the root causes of conflict through measures to alleviate poverty, while utilizing an early-warning system in order to detect possible conflicts.

In the context of conflict prevention, I would also like to emphasize the importance of post-conflict peace-building efforts aimed at preventing the recurrence of conflicts, for it has been shown that conflicts recur in approximately 60 per cent of cases. To provide assistance for disarmament, demobilization and the reintegration of former soldiers, in addition to the deployment of peacekeeping personnel, is vitally important at the post-conflict stage.

The meeting of Foreign Ministers of the Group of Eight, which Japan chaired on 12 and 13 July, emphasized the importance of nourishing a culture of prevention. As described in the Miyazaki initiatives for conflict prevention, which was adopted at that meeting, the Group of Eight Foreign Ministers focused on a range of issues, including the question of small arms and light weapons, the relationship between conflict and development, the need to restrict the illicit trade in diamonds, the protection of children in armed conflict and the role of civilian police in conflict prevention. I note that many of these points are underlined in the presidential statement which will be issued today.

The Security Council, which has primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, could play a more positive role in conflict prevention, particularly in detecting potential conflict situations. So could the Secretary-General, particularly in bringing potentially violent situations to the attention of the Security Council and, thereby, to that of the international community. We therefore welcome the Secretary-General's report in preparation for the Millennium Assembly (A/54/2000) in which he advocates a more active United Nations role in this regard. In a similar vein, we look forward to receiving the report of an expert panel established by the Secretary-General to review peace operations.

Needless to say, various other actors, including the conflicting parties themselves and interested States,

governmental and non-governmental organizations, other regional organizations and frameworks for dialogue such as the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), have an essential part to play in the prevention of conflicts. Encouraging these actors to coordinate their efforts is also an increasingly important task before the Security Council.

For its part, the Government of Japan has been taking a number of initiatives with a view to fostering the culture of prevention. For example, Japan has hosted a series of international conferences on such subjects as the role of non-governmental organizations in conflict prevention and the implications of conflict prevention for African development.

Japan has also contributed to date $1.2 million to the OAU Peace Fund at the United Nations, with the aim of helping to develop a regional mechanism for conflict prevention. Of that amount, approximately $200,000 is earmarked to support OAU efforts to develop an early warning system in Africa.

Japan has also been active in tackling the issue of small arms and light weapons and has sponsored a General Assembly resolution on the subject in past years. Japan's contributions to the United Nations trust fund for the purposes of preventing the illegal transfer of weapons and reducing the number of small arms in post-conflict zones amount to $2 million. And, in an effort to contribute to the success of the United Nations Conference on the Illicit Trade in Small Arms and Light Weapons in All its Aspects to be held in 2001, Japan recently organized a preparatory workshop in Tokyo, in which representatives from countries throughout Asia and other regions participated.

Conflict prevention is a very important but difficult task. We, therefore, as the Member States of the United Nations, have to work together, keeping in mind the responsibility of the United Nations and particularly of the Security Council for preserving world peace.

I wish to assure you, Mr. President, that Japan will spare no effort in the endeavour to tackle this difficult challenge of conflict prevention.

The President: The next speaker inscribed in my list is the representative of Austria. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and make his statement.

Mr. Pfanzelter (Austria): I have the honour to speak in Austria's capacity as Chair in Office of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, the OSCE.

At the outset, permit me to thank the Jamaican presidency for scheduling this open debate. The presence of the Jamaican Foreign Minister clearly expresses the importance of the topic and the need to thoroughly discuss the various issues.

I would also like to thank you for giving me the floor to address the Council on the issue of conflict prevention as representative of the Chairperson in Office of the OSCE. The OSCE itself was created as a means of conflict prevention during the cold war, as a standing conference to de-escalate the bipolar political tensions in Europe. This year we commemorate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signature of the Helsinki Final Act, the basic document in post-war Europe that set the parameters for a dialogue across the iron curtain, a dialogue which contributed significantly to the reduction of mistrust and facilitated the political developments in and after 1989, including the peaceful changes of international borders.

The OSCE was not able to prevent the outbreak of armed conflict in some cases, most notably in the territory of the former Yugoslavia. However, the organization has learned its lessons and adopted a multifaceted approach to conflict prevention. In order to address the root causes of conflict, it established the Center for Conflict Prevention in Vienna and the Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights in Warsaw and instituted the High Commissioner for Minorities and the Representative for the Freedom of the Media. In addition, very useful work in conflict prevention is done by the field missions in Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Albania, Georgia, Chechnya, Nagorno-Karabakh, Moldova and Tajikistan.

In addressing the OSCE's role in conflict prevention at the ceremony in Vienna yesterday commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the signing of the Helsinki Final Act, the Chairperson in Office, Austrian Foreign Minister Benita Ferrero-Waldner, elaborated general principles which could also be of relevance to the United Nations, in particular to the Security Council, the main United Nations organ responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security. These elements are the indivisibility and

universality of security, the need for a culture of dialogue, the importance of respect for human rights, flexibility of the organization, international cooperation and effectiveness of measures.

First, the indivisibility and universality of security. As our distinguished President, the Foreign Minister of Jamaica, has just underlined, the need for security is the same all over the world; armed conflicts cause human suffering everywhere without distinction. In order to assume its role as the world's guardian of international peace, the Security Council must treat all potential conflicts the same and must devote equal attention to all crises in every region of the world.

Second, a culture of dialogue. Peaceful international relations require respect for the principle of equality of States and the will of the States to cooperate peacefully with one another. Together with the Secretary-General, the Security Council must continue to enhance the United Nations role as a facilitator of dialogue and negotiations, both in international and in internal conflicts. As a consequence, any illegal resort to the use of force must effectively be sanctioned immediately.

Third, the role of human rights. Recent history has demonstrated the crucial role of human rights, the rights of minorities, and humanitarian law in conflict prevention. In a time when 90 per cent of armed conflicts are internal, safeguarding these rights is an inevitable prerequisite for peace. Human rights violations are often early warning signs of tensions. In this respect the Security Council has undertaken significant efforts and must continue to do so in order to effectively prevent conflicts.

Fourth, flexibility. Today's conflicts are significantly different from those which the drafters of the United Nations Charter had in mind. Equally, the challenges for world peace and stability and the potential root causes of conflict are of a different nature. Poverty, organized crime, drugs, terrorism, disease, the availability of large numbers of small arms and the scarcity of natural resources require adequate attention and a variety of different responses in preventive diplomacy. The OSCE has tried over the past years to adapt institutionally and functionally to the new situation. The Security Council has also adopted innovative procedures and initiatives. Let me just mention the establishment of the criminal tribunals, the recent prohibition of trade in "blood diamonds" and the equally recent reaction to the threat caused by the spread of AIDS.

Other possible means of action come to mind, such as investigative missions to identify potential conflicts, special hearings of the parties involved, preventive arms or trade embargoes, preventive partial disarmament of the parties involved and the creation of demilitarized zones.

Fifthly, as regards international cooperation, recent examples have shown that conflict prevention is an enormous task that no international organization can solve on its own. Cooperation between international organizations, including non-governmental organizations, must become the norm. In the Istanbul Charter for European Security, the OSCE clearly supported the notion that only a sensible distribution of tasks could maximize the profit of our endeavours. The Security Council would be well advised to continue its policy of actively involving regional organizations and possibly expand it to other international forums.

My sixth and final point concerns effectiveness. It is clear that attempts to prevent conflicts will only be effective if the organizations are adequately equipped for their tasks. Successful prevention requires mechanisms to identify potential conflicts, a variety of instruments of prevention, including appropriate means to counter non-compliance by the parties and organizational structures, especially adequate personnel and financial means. Most important, however, as we all know, is the full political support by the member States of the organization.

The United Nations, the regional organizations and States must invest more effort, time and money in conflict prevention. Considering the costs of conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction, in terms of human suffering as well as financial and operational means, the investment in conflict prevention may be the most economic and rational investment of all.

The President: I thank the representative of Austria for his kind words addressed to me.

There are a number of speakers remaining on my list, but in view of the lateness of the hour, and with the concurrence of Council Members, I intend to suspend the meeting now.

United Nations S/PV.4174 (Resumption 1)

Security Council

Fifty-fifth year

Provisional

4174th meeting

Thursday, 20 July 2000, 3.55 p.m.
New York

President:	Mr. Robertson	(Jamaica)
Members:	Argentina	Mr. Cappagli
	Bangladesh	Mr. Chowdhury
	Canada	Mr. Fowler
	China	Mr. Wang Yingfan
	France	Mr. Levitte
	Malaysia	Mr. Hasmy
	Mali	Mr. Keita
	Namibia	Mr. Gurirab
	Netherlands	Mr. Scheffers
	Russian Federation	Mr. Gatilov
	Tunisia	Mr. Ben Mustapha
	Ukraine	Mr. Kuchynski
	United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland	Sir Jeremy Greenstock
	United States of America	Mr. Cunningham

Agenda

Role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts.

This record contains the text of speeches delivered in English and of the interpretation of speeches delivered in the other languages. The final text will be printed in the *Official Records of the Security Council*. Corrections should be submitted to the original languages only. They should be incorporated in a copy of the record and sent under the signature of a member of the delegation concerned to the Chief of the Verbatim Reporting Service, room C-178.

00-54352 (E)

The meeting was suspended at 1.25 p.m. and resumed at 3.55 p.m.

The President: I should like to inform the Council that I have received letters from the representatives of Kenya and Rwanda, in which they request to be invited to participate in the discussion of the item on the Council's agenda. In conformity with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite those representatives to participate in the discussion, without the right to vote, in accordance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the Council's provisional rules of procedure.

There being no objection, it is so decided.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Kahende (Kenya) and Mr. Mutoboba (Rwanda) took the seats reserved for them at the side of the Council Chamber.

I should like to inform the Council that I have received a letter dated 20 July 2000 from the Permanent Representative of Malaysia to the United Nations that reads as follows:

> "I have the honour, in my capacity as Chairman of the Islamic Group of the United Nations, to request that the Security Council extend an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure to His Excellency Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference to the United Nations, during the Council's discussion on the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts."

This letter will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/2000/717.

If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the Council agrees to extend an invitation under rule 39 to Mr. Mokhtar Lamani.

It is so decided.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Colombia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Valdivieso (Colombia) (spoke in Spanish): I would like to say to you, Mr. President, that we feel honoured by your presence and participation here to preside over this special meeting. We also feel honoured at your presence as a representative of our Latin American and Caribbean region.

The Security Council has already pronounced itself on this subject. In the second half of last year, it expressed various very pertinent points regarding the use of early-warning, preventive diplomacy, preventive deployment, preventive disarmament and the consolidation of peace as complementary and interrelated measures in a comprehensive strategy to prevent conflicts. In addition, the Council expressed the need to revamp and develop a culture of conflict prevention. My delegation agrees with these conclusions. Moreover, we share the view that it is the task of the Security Council to endeavour to act in situations that call for preventive action in order to avoid an open conflict.

In his report to the Millennium Assembly (A/54/2000), the Secretary-General also makes a number of observations regarding the need to prevent conflicts and, above all, to face up to not only the symptoms of those conflicts, but their root causes as well. In the times in which we live, during which peacekeeping operations have multiplied, the limitations of an approach that focuses more on symptoms than on causes — and which does not always contribute to solving conflicts — are becoming apparent.

We have already reached a point in the evolution of civilization in which it no longer makes sense to talk about just wars. In this regard, the General Assembly last year adopted the important Declaration and Programme of Action on a Culture of Peace. My delegation is convinced of the importance of promoting a culture of peace and of an educational effort for peace that will one day lead us to the establishment of a true right to peace.

The public diplomacy of the Security Council is an effective prevention mechanism. Contact between the members of the Council and regions in which it is possible to prevent a conflict or the exacerbation of an existing conflict can be effective if it is done with a dose of consensus. Prevention measures have more weight if they come from the Security Council and if they are applied in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

In order to prevent the resurgence of conflict, my delegation believes that the Security Council should give special attention to the related aspect of monitoring respect for peace agreements and consolidating peace after a conflict.

Poverty is a factor that threatens peace because, among other things, it makes countries more vulnerable to any threat or conflict. As the Secretary-General states in his report to the Millennium Assembly, most of the wars taking place at the moment are wars between poor peoples. The reason for this is complex and has to do with poverty, the weakness of institutions and the lack of opportunity. But the search for international peace and security require the eradication of poverty and the attainment of development. The dilemma between the cost of peacekeeping operations and the need to invest in development continues to prevail.

In this connection, there is one aspect to conflicts to which my delegation believes the Council should give particular attention. That aspect is the economic reasons for certain conflicts. I refer once again to the Secretary-General, who says that

> "Whereas war is costly for society as a whole, it nevertheless may be profitable for some." (A/54/2000, para. 205)

In some cases, the illegal exploitation of resources is a central element of conflict. The Security Council should seek innovative measures to deal with these situations.

Disarmament must also be a part of a comprehensive conflict-prevention strategy. The international community has turned its attention to the problem of small arms and light weapons. These are the types of weapons that are being used in today's conflicts — the ones that are causing so many deaths. There is a very close relationship between the uncontrolled proliferation of weapons and conflict situations. There is no doubt that conflict situations are fuelled by the illicit arms trade, against which embargoes are not always effective. Other measures will therefore have to be found. The Security Council must also take into consideration disarmament measures within the context of a broad conflict-prevention strategy.

As an instrument of justice, the International Court of Justice will contribute to conflict prevention. In this respect, all States, and in particular those that are members of the Security Council, must support and ratify the Statute of the Court.

By its very nature, the Security Council tends to take action in situations of urgency and is thus perhaps seen as a mechanism applicable in the short term. As a political body, it often requires a political impetus in order to act. Prevention does not necessarily give rise to the political awareness that the resolution of a conflict provides. It is for that reason that prevention requires breadth of vision and humility, as well as the ability to obey the dictates of one's conscience without expecting recognition.

The President: I thank the representative of Colombia for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Pakistan. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ahmad (Pakistan): I too would like to start by thanking you, Mr. President, for convening this important meeting on conflict prevention, an issue of vital concern to all of us. Your presence here as Foreign Minister of your country not only attests to the importance that you attach to this meeting, but also gives us hope that the outcome of today's deliberations will go beyond the usual and customary complacency that we have been witnessing in the presidential statements issued after earlier meetings of the Council.

Unfortunately, in the post-cold-war era, the world continues to witness internecine and intra-State conflicts. Their consequences in terms of loss of life, property and massive human suffering have been extensively catalogued by various research institutions. The accounts of devastation and human suffering are a constant reminder to the international community to reinvigorate its efforts to control, if not eliminate, the causes of such conflicts. We believe that, given a sufficient degree of commitment, concern, engagement, objectivity and even-handedness by the international community, most conflicts are preventable most of the time.

In recent years, conflict prevention has emerged as a major theme in international discourse. This reflects the fact that there is a growing realization of the need to prevent conflicts before their eruption into fully fledged wars, with the concomitant devastation and destruction. Further efforts and wider participation will be necessary to create a global culture of peace, particularly because, since the causes of conflicts are diverse, so are the methods of dealing with those conflicts.

In the Security Council's earlier debate on the subject in November last year, the Member States, including my delegation, had highlighted the causes of conflicts and the need to address them, and urged the Security Council to play a far greater and more effective role in conflict prevention, as envisaged in the Charter of the United Nations. We note with concern that the Council's presidential statement which is expected to be issued after today's debate fails to mention political disputes as one of the causes of conflicts. It lists only economic, social, cultural or humanitarian problems as the root causes of armed conflicts. This is not an adequate or right reflection of the situation confronted by the international community.

The overwhelming number of issues currently on the agenda of the Security Council are essentially political disputes. If, despite that, the Security Council chooses to avoid stating the obvious, one wonders what is the purpose of this debate. Is a presidential statement which is devoid of realities and truth worth the effort, time and resources of the Member States? Is the Security Council doing any justice to its own mandate? Are we not being guided by expediencies rather than by the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations? One also wonders why this body is shy of addressing the root causes of conflicts all around the world and finds itself paralysed in the face of serious threats to international peace and security.

This being the attitude of the Security Council, we have little doubt that today's presidential statement would provide a mistaken direction to its future discourse on conflict prevention. I think somebody has to call a spade a spade. Similarly, the recommendations of the Secretary-General on a comprehensive strategy on conflict prevention, which are expected next year, would become totally meaningless. We therefore urge the Council to review its position on this vital issue.

I must emphasize that the underlying causes, and not the symptoms of conflicts and disputes, must be addressed in order to find lasting solutions to conflicts. When treating a disease, one does not treat the symptoms; one has to go deep down to treat the disease. Particular attention should be paid to resolving outstanding disputes which pose a serious threat to international peace and security. The protracted conflict over the illegal occupation of Jammu and Kashmir, and the denial of the right of the people of that territory to determine their own future, is a case in point. The Security Council must work for the early resolution of this and other similar disputes in accordance with its own resolutions on these subjects.

The mechanism for conflict prevention is rooted in the Charter of the United Nations. The preamble of the Charter envisages settlement of disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of peace and Article 2 stipulates that such settlements are to be reached "by peaceful means" and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law.

Under Article 33, parties to any dispute are required to use peaceful means for settlement. The Security Council is empowered to call upon the parties to settle their disputes by such means. Responsibility in this regard should not be evaded on the pretext that bilateral disputes should be resolved by the concerned parties alone. This is an erroneous notion because all bilateral disputes, particularly those with implications for global peace and security, are by definition international disputes.

Another tendency noted occasionally is that the Security Council is unwilling or unable to fulfil its responsibilities, either because of the use of the veto or because it has lacked the collective will to implement its own resolutions. This problem needs to be addressed in the context of reform and expansion of the Security Council.

In our view, the principles that must guide actions by the international community on conflict prevention should include the following. I ask your indulgence, Sir, while I list these principles.

First, conflict prevention must be based on the norms of collective security defined in the Charter of the United Nations.

Secondly, the principles of State sovereignty and non-interference and non-intervention in the internal affairs of a sovereign State must be respected. However, these principles should not be applicable to situations where people under colonial rule, foreign occupation or alien domination are struggling to be able to enjoy their inalienable right to self-determination. Had this not been so, more than half the world today would have remained dependent and unfree.

An effective early-warning system should be developed with a view to identifying prospective conflict areas without any discrimination. When

picking up early-warning signals, the international community must exercise great care, caution and circumspection in labelling situations as being threats to international peace and security.

Once a determination is made that certain situations require preventive action, the response of the United Nations should be comprehensive and robust, not half-hearted.

The central role of the General Assembly as the only body with universal representation in the United Nations system must be respected and maintained.

The Security Council has over the years lost credibility and authority. It must reclaim both of these, in fulfilment of its Charter role to maintain international peace.

The Security Council must act on the basis of an objective assessment of a particular situation, instead of responding selectively. Nor should it give in to political expediencies or become helpless by seeking to placate a few players of power politics and hegemony. Principles, not expedience, should be the norm.

The Secretary-General must play a more proactive role, as envisaged in Article 99 of the Charter of the United Nations. I think he needs the Security Council's authorization to perform his mandate, particularly in situations where massive violations of the human rights of people under colonial rule or foreign occupation are taking place. He must not find himself inhibited by the intransigence of one party in a particular conflict situation.

More effective peacemaking efforts should be pursued wherever peacekeeping operations are in place, considering that peacekeeping alone has not ensured lasting peace in many conflict situations.

The proclivity to bypass the United Nations, which puts into question the Organization's viability, must be avoided.

The role of the regional organizations should be in consonance with Chapter VIII of the United Nations Charter.

There should be effective cooperation and sharing of responsibility between the various organs of the United Nations as envisaged in the Charter.

Preventive deployment should be considered by the Security Council, as was done in the case of the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

The concept of preventive disarmament needs farther discussion and elaboration, because such a concept would militate against the inherent right to self-defence sanctified by the Charter of the United Nations.

Peace and development are indivisible. This we all know. Therefore, the international community must revitalize its efforts and devote its resources to the economic development of the developing countries in order to promote international peace and to prevent conflicts.

Open debate in the Security Council should be held before finalizing the Council's response to any conflict situation. The views expressed by non-Council members must be considered for incorporation in the Council's presidential statements or resolutions.

Before concluding, I would like to convey our support for the idea that the Secretary-General should establish panels of experts to prepare periodic reports on disputes that pose serious threats to international peace and security, with a view to developing strategies for their peaceful settlement. We note with concern that Council members could not agree on the text that was proposed in this regard. We hope that further consideration will be given to the issue by the Council in its next deliberations on conflict prevention, with a view to reaching a consensus.

In conclusion, I would like to reaffirm Pakistan's cooperation with and support for the international community's efforts to prevent conflicts, in keeping with our commitment to global peace and collective security and to the honour and dignity of peoples all around the world, as well as to their progress and prosperity.

Finally, may I say that we are all human beings. We always like to speak good words about each other; we like to listen to good words about each other; after that, we like to issue anodyne statements. But let me say that an anodyne presidential statement coming out of this meeting today will not prevent any conflict as long as we do not take any specific measures to authorize the Secretary-General to address the root causes of those conflicts.

The President: I thank the representative of Pakistan for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Norway. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kolby (Norway): Norway commends the initiative of the Jamaican presidency to organize this follow-up debate on the important topic of conflict prevention. It is an honour to us that you, Mr. President, are chairing this meeting. In our view, the Jamaican delegation is making a great contribution to the work of the Council.

Norway appreciates the fact that non-members have been given the opportunity to participate in this debate. Increased transparency in the working methods of the Council continues to be a priority issue for Norway and the other Nordic countries.

"Development is the best form of conflict prevention." This observation, made by our Secretary-General, has Norway's full support.

When involved in efforts to prevent and resolve conflicts, the United Nations and the Security Council need a multifaceted, integrated approach. The ultimate success of complex United Nations peacekeeping operations — such as those in East Timor, Sierra Leone and the Balkans — depends on our ability to ensure follow-up in the areas of reconstruction, rehabilitation and longer-term development.

To prevent the re-emergence of violent conflict, it is necessary for us to stay the course and to remain focused on the perspective beyond the immediate violence and humanitarian crisis. We must also remain focused after the cameras are gone.

The Security Council, of course, bears a particular responsibility for preventing disputes from breaking out into violent conflicts in the first place. Success in solving a conflict is headline news. Success in preventing conflict gets much less attention, but prevention, as we all know is much less costly than cure. Member States must therefore support the analytical and early-warning capacity of the United Nations and mobilize political will in the Security Council so that it can react to situations and play a positive role at an early stage, before disputes grow into open and violent conflicts.

Preventive diplomacy is among the important instruments that may be used even more actively in the future than they are today. We must strengthen the conflict-prevention capacity of the Secretary-General, *inter alia*, by contributing to the Trust Fund for Preventive Action.

We must encourage efforts to facilitate peaceful mediation and dialogue, not only between leaders, but also through people-to-people cooperation. We must provide consistent political and material support to United Nations peacekeeping. History has repeatedly shown that the presence of United Nations peacekeepers, including in preventive deployment, can successfully prevent conflicts from arising or developing further. Norway will continue to be actively engaged in peacekeeping. We have, *inter alia*, offered to assist in improving the planning capacity of the Secretariat.

But lasting peace, stability and democracy will be elusive unless we combat the root causes of conflict. By promoting economic and social development and environmental protection, we can hope to prevent conflicts caused by poverty, inequality and inadequate access to resources.

The special representatives of the Secretary-General have a key role in coordinating the work of relevant United Nations agencies active in the field, bearing in mind their respective responsibilities for addressing the wide variety of causes of conflict.

Integration processes are crucial, both to avoid war and violence and to re-establish peace after armed conflicts. We have clearly seen that the marginalization and lack of integration of groups and individuals can create breeding grounds for violent conflict. In this regard, the continuous attention of the international community is needed.

We need a more integrated approach to conflict prevention. We need to focus the international community on comprehensive peace-building. The peace and security activities of the Security Council cannot take place in isolation from the humanitarian and development activities of the Economic and Social Council, and vice versa. More cooperation within the framework of the respective mandates is needed.

Ensuring sustainable social and economic development is probably the most challenging part of conflict prevention and peace-building. Developing

countries cannot be expected to do this alone. Donor countries must fulfil their moral and political commitments to development assistance, to debt relief and to providing the United Nations system with a solid financial base to implement its mandates for peace and development.

The members of the Security Council have a particular responsibility to contribute to the ability and willingness of the international community to engage in long-term and comprehensive peace-building efforts, in addition to those that are related to the peace and security mandate of the Council.

I can assure you, Sir, that my Government will continue to be actively engaged in support of United Nations and Security Council efforts over the broad spectrum of activities aimed at conflict prevention and comprehensive peace-building by assisting and facilitating peace processes at the parties' request; by contributing to peacekeeping operations with funds and personnel; by promoting disarmament and combating the spread of small arms; and by providing humanitarian and long-term development assistance, not least to Africa.

Norway remains convinced that there is no alternative to supporting the United Nations as our main tool for conflict prevention and the primary role of the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the Charter. We remain committed to continued cooperation with the Council in these efforts.

The President: I thank the representative of Norway for his kind words addressed to me and the Jamaican delegation.

The next speaker is the representative of Brazil. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Moura (Brazil): The initiative of the Jamaican presidency to convene several open meetings is very welcome. It epitomizes the commitment of the Jamaican Government to the transparency of the Security Council and its working methods. Your presence among us, Mr. President, is an unequivocal sign of the importance attached by your Government to conflict prevention. Indeed, it is high time to start building on the conclusions of the open debate that took place last November.

In fact, the issue of conflict prevention has generated a spate of in-depth research activities, the publication of a number of studies and the renewed interest of Member States. Since the issuance of last year's report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization, prevention has become a sort of buzzword in the United Nations.

Think-tanks are devoting resources and energy to the problem so as to come up with both conceptual frameworks and blueprints for action in the area of the prevention of armed conflicts. The media is becoming increasingly interested, thus giving heightened visibility to this issue.

All of these developments are positive and reinforce our common understanding that prevention is always a better strategy than mending the damage or healing the wounds after the outbreak of conflicts. I should like to mention a recently published study entitled "Breaking Cycles of Violence" as one example of the kind of debate in academia that can help us. Among its conclusions, the study stated very clearly that conflict, and its prevention and resolution, are multidimensional and multilevel in their causal structure.

The academic jargon notwithstanding, it seems clear that there is no single cause of conflict. The root causes may include cultural, economic, developmental and institutional dimensions, as well as societal and international ones. This is the reason why effective measures concerning conflict prevention go far beyond the Security Council's exclusive competence, involving other United Nations and international bodies.

There is no single formula for conflict prevention. Preventive action should, therefore, be taken after an assessment of the specifics of each situation. If we are to develop an encompassing strategy, it will no doubt have to be based on a deep understanding of the multiple roots of conflict. At the same time, there must be an effective division of labour so that we can tackle the different aspects of each situation.

It is to be hoped that the conditions for a strong, concrete basis for a comprehensive, long-term conflict-prevention strategy will be created when the eradication of poverty is no longer a vague ideal. In this regard, respect for human rights must also become a universal concern in daily life in all countries of the world. Lack of development should never be used to

justify the horrors and atrocities we have seen in recent conflicts.

We are convinced that any comprehensive strategy of prevention should take into account the need for promoting and protecting human rights, fostering development and eradicating poverty. Of course, the Security Council has a key role to play, since it has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security.

The draft presidential statement that the Council is about to adopt points in the right direction. It recognizes quite appropriately that one of the most powerful and least controversial tools at the disposal of the Security Council is diplomacy. Guided by the provisions of Chapter VI of the Charter, the Security Council is in a unique position to promote, through negotiation and persuasion, the ascendancy of reason where intolerance and misunderstanding prevail.

As a contribution to prevention, Article 99 of the Charter offers the Secretary-General a most valuable instrument for engaging the Council in preventive action. The role played by the special representatives of the Secretary-General and by his good offices missions should also be underscored.

Preventive deployment, such as occurred in Macedonia, and disarmament, are equally useful means of prevention. We know well the destabilizing consequences of the illicit trafficking in and excessive accumulation of small arms. We should not forget the need to re-establish a global atmosphere propitious to the exercise of preventive diplomacy. The strengthening of all disarmament treaties can be a decisive factor in that direction.

Conflicts are often caused by an abuse of power on the part of those in positions of authority. Justice is therefore very important for the maintenance of a climate of compliance with basic human values. The Tribunals for Rwanda and for the former Yugoslavia are having an impact as instruments of deterrence. We are hopeful that this positive impact will soon be greatly enhanced by the entry into force of the Statute of the International Criminal Court.

Unfortunately, the examples of frustrated peace accords have become all too frequent. Hostilities sometimes resume after short periods of ceasefire due to the lack of adequate political and financial support for peace agreements. Efforts in the areas of disarmament, demobilization and reintegration must be coupled with a clear commitment of the international community to reconstruction, rehabilitation and long-term development.

This means that funds must be made available in due course to projects capable of generating an environment conducive to development and reconciliation while strengthening the institutions in charge of upholding the rule of law and human rights.

Conflict prevention cannot be considered to be an exotic theme. It is an integral part of the international agenda and is no longer an uncharted field. We may need from now on to have a systematic account of concrete examples of good practices and lessons learned, so that the Council and other organs of the United Nations can benefit from past experience and better plan their future actions.

Rather than rhetoric, what is most needed is the replication of positive examples and the correction of past failures. We are convinced that the report to be elaborated by the Secretary-General will constitute an important contribution in this regard.

The President: I thank the representative of Brazil for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker is the representative of Senegal. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Ka (Senegal) (*spoke in French*): I should like first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July and to thank you in particular for your timely initiative to place the important issue of conflict prevention, and the role of the Council in this respect, before the Council for consideration.

Since the creation of the United Nations, the subject of conflict prevention has, because it is an essential element in the preservation of international peace and security, continued to remain at the heart of the international community's concerns, even though the subject has undergone a considerable evolution as circumstances have changed.

As I said last November here in the Council, when the concept of preventive diplomacy was introduced it was closely linked to the threat of a nuclear escalation between the two super Powers. Over time the scope for such action has considerably

expanded, following the proliferation of inter-State and internal conflicts, which today are the main cause of the destabilization of States.

More recently, the terrible and tragic events in Rwanda and, to a lesser extent, in Somalia, have contributed to raising the awareness of the international community about the urgent need to attach priority to conflict prevention so as to avoid a recurrence of these tragedies and at the same time create conditions for lasting peace in Africa and throughout the world.

To that end, aware of the fact that armed intervention means a failure of prevention, the international community then came out in favour of a strengthening of the prevention capacity of the United Nations. Today, the tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia are considered here as new, powerful instruments for deterrence. Tomorrow, when the International Criminal Court is operational, it will mark a particularly decisive turn in our common effort to reject further faits accomplis, injustice, indifference and impunity.

In this untiring search for a solution to what seems to be a global threat, for the countries of the North as well as for those of the South, the question which continues to occur is whether today it is possible to give thought to an effective policy for the prevention of conflicts without first tackling head on other significant issues which are organically linked to it.

In his report of 13 April 1998 devoted to the causes of conflict and the promotion of durable peace and sustainable development in Africa, the Secretary-General rightly and relevantly recognized that prevention of conflict is not an end in itself and that it must take into account, by combining them, the different functions of post-conflict peace-building and of political, economic, social and humanitarian activities designed to eliminate the underlying causes of conflicts, in particular economic destitution, social injustice and political oppression.

It is in that context that I would like to make several comments. First, that today the Security Council should unanimously acknowledge that there is a close relationship between the need for peace and the demands for sustainable economic development. The Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs recently stated, and very much to the point, that poverty fuels war.

Unfortunately, poverty, illness and epidemics such as AIDS, hunger and oppression, violations of human rights are raging today throughout the world, as is demonstrated by millions of refugees, people who are ill or displaced. These numerous problems, which are both a source and a consequence of armed conflicts, require unflagging attention by the Security Council and that the efforts devoted to them be of the highest priority. Allow me to emphasize here that we are gratified by the leadership you have demonstrated at the beginning of this week, Mr. President, by allowing for an important debate within the Security Council on the subject of AIDS in peacekeeping operations.

My second comment is that the Security Council can play a leading role in the question of the illicit trade and spreading dissemination of light weapons and small arms, which is of concern to all of us. Today, unquestionably, the mass flows of such weapons is fuelling and magnifying insecurity and helps to trigger conflicts. To control, restrict and eliminate the illicit trade in light weapons is, therefore, in our view, a high priority objective for conflict prevention.

But for there to be genuinely effective conflict prevention, there is a need not only to control a dissemination of weapons, but above all to eradicate the source of weapons in order to do away with these weapons once and for all. This is why the Council should support the efforts of numerous countries or groups of countries that have taken bold and timely action to this end, and here I would like to cite the example of the States of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), which in November 1998, fully aware of the extent of this scourge, decided to impose a moratorium on importing and exporting these types of weapons.

More, however, should be done, by finalizing within the United Nations a binding legal instrument for the elimination, or even a total ban, on illicit transfers of light weapons. This is one of the great goals at stake for the United Nations conference planned for next year on the illicit trade in light weapons and small arms in all of its aspects. Preparatory work for this conference has already begun.

My third comment proceeds from a logical assumption that the Council needs to establish a special fund designed solely to support strategies for

preventive diplomacy and which would finance mechanisms for prevention that are already in operation in other regions in the world. This fund would avoid obliging the United Nations to sink enormous sums into peacekeeping operations or post-conflict peace-building.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU), believing that Africa now is paying a heavy price for armed conflict, decided as of 1993 to establish a conflict prevention, management and settlement mechanism which has a fund for peace, designed specifically to finance the strengthening of the African capacity in conflict prevention and settlement. Moreover, at the OAU summit in Algiers in 1999, the Heads of State of Africa wished to lay down the first bases for a culture of conflict prevention in Africa, declaring the year 2000 the year of peace on the continent. This unprecedented determination and this effort at peace deserves to be supported by the international community. Here, therefore, we would like to thank France, the United Kingdom, the United States and several other developed countries for their initiatives to strengthen the African capacity for conflict prevention and management.

In conclusion, I would like to emphasize that one of the major challenges to be met over the next few years is that of the capacity of the United Nations and its various bodies to establish a flexible mechanism entrusted on a standing basis with warning the international community of potential crisis situations throughout the world and recommending appropriate emergency responses. Thus, we could replace our culture of responding to crisis with another culture, that of preventing crisis.

In our joint efforts to build this culture of prevention, the Security Council, endowed with primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security in the world, should for its part respond more expeditiously in the future to tragic situations which clearly can spawn humanitarian disasters.

There are several areas, specifically, in which the role of the Security Council in preventing armed conflict could be strengthened: the sending — and the more frequent sending — of good offices missions made up of members of the Security Council, as was recently the case in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, or of outstanding individuals having great political and moral prestige, to draw the attention of the parties to the conflict to the need for restraint in situations which can be more or less explosive; increased cooperation of the Council and of the bodies involved in the United Nations system with regional organizations, in order to set up an integrated warning system under Chapter VIII of the Charter; and finally, consideration and adoption by the Security Council of a series of measures allowing countries which have emerged from an armed conflict to set about forging a culture of peace and reconciliation in order to prevent the outbreak of further conflicts.

The resources provided to the Secretary-General through Article 99 of the Charter should also be often used in situations which could imperil peace and security throughout the world. In our view, the Council should encourage and more firmly support future initiatives of the Secretary-General in this area.

Today's discussion and the document which doubtless will crown this debate should allow us to lay the foundations for a mechanism without which no system of prevention worthy of that name would be able to function properly.

The President: I thank the representative of Senegal for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Indonesia. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Oratmangun (Indonesia): On behalf of my delegation, I would like, first of all, to extend our most heartfelt congratulations, Mr. President, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. We are particularly grateful for the presence of Mr. Paul Robertson, Foreign Minister of Jamaica, in our midst despite his numerous other duties and responsibilities. We have full confidence that under his wise guidance and skilful stewardship, progress will be made in dealing with the issue on our agenda. Let me also take this opportunity to commend the role played by the past Security Council President, Ambassador Jean-David Levitte of France, in facilitating our deliberations last June.

My delegation is gratified to note the Security Council's decision to hold a public session to renew its consideration of conflict prevention at this juncture, when conflicts are being waged in various parts of the world. These retrograde developments which have defied peace-making efforts warrant greater attention

being placed on conflict prevention before they escalate into violence and bloodshed. We share the widely held view that preventive strategies are preferable to reactive strategies; they are also highly cost-effective. The sums preventive strategies require pale in significance when compared to the huge cost involved in the unconscionable loss of life and material devastation resulting from conflict. Hence, the Security Council should go further not only in dealing with conflicts but also in deterring the emergence of new tragedies.

As a fundamental axiom, it is pertinent to note that, as each situation is unique, initiatives must be premised on a case-by-case basis. Under each circumstance they should be undertaken with the consent of the States concerned, should take into account the legitimate interests of those States and should be consistent with the principles enshrined in the Charter. Our failure to recognize these immutable principles may well prove to be counter-productive.

In its task to prevent disputes between States from arising, the Security Council, in our view, should first of all address the underlying causes through confidence-building measures encompassing both military and non-military aspects, such as political and socio-economic matters. It should reconcile the divergent security interests of the States concerned, pave the way for openness and transparency in military matters, seek restraint in acquiring armaments in accordance with national security needs and encourage regional organizations to play an active role in initiating and implementing conflict-prevention measures appropriate to a region.

While the Security Council's record in containing conflicts is noteworthy, we should nonetheless enhance its capabilities through more effective global and regional mechanisms for conflict prevention that could defuse crisis situations and prepare the ground for peacemaking. It is clear that the machinery for pre-empting conflicts and disasters is not as effective as it should be. This calls for a reassessment of the existing approaches, as well as the exploration of new modalities warranting our serious consideration.

Among such new modalities is, first, the General Assembly. As a universal forum, it has an important role to play in the maintenance of international peace and security. Hence, its capacity to recommend appropriate conflict-prevention measures must be recognized.

Secondly, the importance of periodic review by the Security Council of situations that are prone to conflict cannot be over-emphasized. This would alert the Council to the dangers inherent in a situation and have it undertake preventive measures as foreseen in the Charter.

Thirdly, socio-economic development is a crucial component in preventing conflicts and in healing wounds after conflicts have occurred. Member States' support of the efforts of the United Nations system with regard to preventive activities and provision of necessary assistance for developmental purposes would be imperative.

Fourthly, in this context, projections by the Economic and Social Council of socio-economic problems that could lead to a breakdown of the political system and the attendant crisis, and the formulation of strategies to deal with such explosive situations, would make a significant contribution. This could be augmented by closer collaboration between members of the Economic and Social Council and of the Security Council in order to deal comprehensively with potential crises. There could also be collaboration among various relevant agencies.

Fifthly, the Secretary-General has a role to play in consultation on a regular basis with the States concerned, to monitor and bring potentially dangerous situations to the attention of the General Assembly and the Security Council, as well as to convey his own views and recommendations. The Member States, for their part, should support the Secretary-General's efforts by providing adequate and timely information and appropriate assistance in implementing relevant recommendations.

In South-East Asia, members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) realize that the persistence of conflicts would inevitably lead to the weakening of the region as a whole, and therefore they have demonstrated a strong desire for peaceful relations. Cooperative and equal security for all States, now prevailing in our region, is widely acknowledged to be preventive in nature, while its infrastructure is being further strengthened. Consequently, there is a general expectation of peaceful settlement of disputes. It is in this spirit that the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) reflects the determination of the Asia Pacific

countries to ensure a peaceful and stable political and security environment for their people. The ARF is thus an exercise in conflict prevention as it deals with inter- and intra-regional relations in such a way that new relationships based on recognition of the mutuality of interests could evolve gradually and peacefully. The ARF may well turn out to be an effective mechanism for deterring conflicts in that part of the world.

My delegation also wishes to draw attention to the Workshop technique adopted by Indonesia in dealing with a potentially explosive situation in the South China Sea, which involves overlapping claims of sovereignty and the resultant dispute over exploration and exploitation of resources. The latest of these Workshops, held in Jakarta in December 1998, agreed, among other things, to undertake a study on guidelines and a code of conduct for the South China Sea. The Workshop cited confidence-building measures as essential for minimizing tension, for preventing conflicts, promoting cooperation and creating an atmosphere conducive to the peaceful settlement of disputes. As a result of the Workshop process, we now have a sizeable and still-growing body of concrete and constructive proposals for cooperation in the South China Sea in fields that offer much common ground and promise large benefits for all peoples of the area.

In conclusion, we should place conflict prevention efforts that affect regional peace and international security at the top of our agenda, while improving and strengthening the capacity of the United Nations in this field. They constitute the cornerstone of the Organization's endeavours for peace.

The President: I thank the representative of Indonesia for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the Republic of Korea. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Sun Joun-yung (Republic of Korea): I would like to start by expressing my delegation's deep appreciation to you, Mr. President, for your initiative to organize today's open debate on conflict prevention.

We also thank the Secretary-General for his insightful statement and the efforts he has made to strengthen the activities of the United Nations, in particular those of the Security Council, in monitoring potential conflicts and devising preventive measures.

Despite numerous discussions about the culture of prevention both within and outside the United Nations, armed conflicts and insurgencies are still occurring in many regions at an alarming rate. Moreover, peace is all too fragile in many parts of the world. In Sierra Leone the Security Council recently embarked on the delicate task of bringing stability to a country torn by years of brutal internal conflict. Despite its dedication to the cause of peace, however, the peacekeeping Mission in Sierra Leone has met with serious challenges. Of course, many peacekeeping efforts have proved successful. But others have raised important questions about mandates and resources that have yet to be answered.

Effective conflict prevention is certainly a challenging and complex endeavour extending to the broader horizons of international peace and security. In our view, conflict prevention entails substantive measures, including political dialogue, arms control, the rule of law, respect for human rights, and economic and social development. The issue of sovereignty is often delicately linked as well. Although conflict prevention is obviously far more cost-effective than post-conflict management in both financial and human terms, it is often difficult to assess the optimum level of engagement when exercising preventive measures. The true costs of inaction can only be felt after disaster has already occurred.

The Security Council, in close collaboration with the Secretary-General, must therefore upgrade its capabilities to assess the likelihood of armed conflict in volatile situations and devise clear short- and medium-term strategies for identifying suitable measures at each step of evolving crises. Emphasis should be placed on an effective early warning mechanism, on a more proactive use of preventive monitoring and on preventive peacekeeping missions. The successful experiences of the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force could be applied to other unstable situations. Effective joint measures should also be taken to control the illicit exploitation of, and trade in, natural resources, as well as to prevent trafficking in small arms.

For a longer-term strategy the United Nations system should continue to make efforts to identify the root causes of conflicts. The Security Council, for its part, should take a more comprehensive and integrated approach to conflict prevention, building stronger cooperation with the Secretariat and with relevant

United Nations bodies, including its funds, programmes and specialized agencies. Moreover, it should seek to establish a close working relationship with major organizations, not to mention the Governments and other parties involved. We encourage the Council's efforts to engage itself more directly in such situations as East Timor, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Kosovo.

My delegation believes that strengthening the international legal framework is another fundamental element in preventing conflicts. In this regard, we expect that the International Criminal Court will in the future play an important role in eradicating the current culture of impunity. We all agree that the Security Council's initiatives to establish ad hoc tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda were necessary. My delegation is also of the view that such legal instruments set important precedents for deterring would-be perpetrators of genocide and war crimes.

Last year's open debate of the Security Council on its role in the prevention of armed conflicts, and the subsequent presidential statement, duly emphasized the importance of the Secretary-General's role in conflict prevention. My delegation welcomes on-going efforts by the Secretary-General to realign the Organization with a view to enhancing its early-warning capacity for a more prevention-oriented approach. My Government, for its part, has continued to contribute to the United Nations Trust Fund for Preventive Action since its inception in 1997.

As several previous speakers have indicated, the United Nations, as the major Organization responsible, is not able to prevent every conflict in the world, particularly without strong will on the part of the parties concerned to resolve problems through peaceful means. Directly concerned parties must therefore pursue dialogue and reconciliation first and foremost on their own initiative, albeit with the encouragement of the international community.

I am pleased to report to the Council that the Republic of Korea is doing its part within its own capacity in this regard, by engaging North Korea in a continuous process of building a genuine peace on the Korean peninsula. These crucial efforts seem to have made possible last June's inter-Korean summit in Pyongyang, the first since the division of Korea more than five decades ago. We believe that the inter-Korean summit constitutes a major milestone in the pursuit of peace, not only in the region but also in the world as a whole.

Finally, I wish to conclude by reiterating my delegation's strong support for, and firm commitment to, the common cause of preventing armed conflicts, particularly by strengthening the involvement of the Security Council in preventive measures.

The President: I thank the representative of the Republic of Korea for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mwakawago (United Republic of Tanzania): The United Republic of Tanzania joins my colleagues in commending you, Minister Robertson, and your country, Jamaica, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for the month of July. In the same breath, we wish to commend the Council and the Secretary-General for their continued interest and involvement in the prevention of armed conflicts. For us, the view that there is no higher goal, no deeper commitment, and no greater ambition for the United Nations than the prevention of armed conflict is nowhere more relevant than in the Council.

The United Republic of Tanzania, being one of the countries of the Great Lakes region of Africa, is painfully aware of the ravages of armed conflict — not only in terms of its economic cost but, more importantly, in terms of the humanitarian tragedy it unravels. We have played host to thousands of refugees. We have witnessed innocent civilians, mostly women and children, running for their lives from their own countrymen. We have experienced the environmental degradation brought by such an influx of refugees. We have been overwhelmed by the social and economic dislocation associated with such massive invasions. Needless to say, the security dimension is no less serious. Because of these circumstances, the subject of the Council's attention this afternoon has a very special bearing on the real concerns of Tanzanians.

Does the Security Council have a role? In our view the Charter of the United Nations is clear: the Council has the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security. While the Charter may have its own flaws, it is quite

unambiguous on its commitment to preventing war, to upholding human rights and to promoting social progress. Needless to say, the role of the Security Council is critical in this regard.

The role of the Security Council in preventing armed conflict can best be examined in the light of recent experience. With a few exceptions, the most frequently occurring type of armed conflict — and the one that takes the highest toll on the civilian population — is of an intra-State nature. In Rwanda and Kosovo, the Council failed. In Angola, Sierra Leone and Ethiopia/Eritrea, it has tried to redeem its failures and must be commended for its genuine efforts, in spite of everything else.

Admittedly, the challenge of achieving peace and security in the face of conflict or grave human suffering is a challenge for the international community as well as for the Council, for, under the terms of the Charter, the international community acts through the Council. However, we are concerned and distressed by the fact that, in the face of armed conflict or obvious atrocities committed against humanity, the Council could fail to act in unison and in time, with tragic consequences for its legitimacy.

The Council must therefore strive to prevent potential conflicts from degenerating into actual instances of armed conflict. We commend the measures being instituted by the Secretary-General. Too often the approaches have focused on consequences rather than on causes, and we welcome the desire to reorient those efforts. In our view, the following are critical areas of focus.

First, the Council must continue to support the Secretary-General's initiatives for durable and sustainable peace by instituting timely responses to early signs of trouble and by enlisting the cooperation of other organs and institutions in a broad-based effort to resolve the underlying causes of conflict.

Secondly, where processes have been instituted to resolve conflict, either through the auspices of the United Nations or through regional arrangements, the Council must commit itself to extend its sustained support to the process, including the provision of adequate resources. In this regard, we commend the Council for its efforts relating to the conflict in the Democratic Republic of the Congo.

Thirdly, as we had occasion to state before the Council last November, we continue to believe that the United Nations, and the Council in particular, must prepare contingency arrangements with respect to the outcome of ongoing peace processes. Countries in conflict will require the help of the Council as well as that of the international community, not only to reconstruct but also to build democratic institutions for lasting peace.

Lastly, the Council needs to strengthen its cooperation with regional arrangements. A deliberate strategy must be pursued to enhance their capacity for, and effectiveness in, preventive action at the regional level within the context of Chapter VIII of the Charter, for we believe that regional arrangements can act as an effective spearhead for subsequent Council action.

The United Nations, and the Council in particular, was established primarily to save humanity from the scourge of war and to maintain international peace and security. This continues to be the overriding desire of our people. The extent to which this aspiration is fulfilled is one of the primary measures of the legitimacy of the United Nations and the Council. It is our belief that this function can be discharged. However, it can be fully discharged only if the Organization is adequately funded and supported. This is a challenge we all face. We cannot afford to fail.

The President: I thank the representative of the United Republic of Tanzania for the kind words he addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Uganda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Semakula Kiwanuka (Uganda): Mr. President, let me at the outset congratulate you once again for making it possible for all of us to address this very important subject.

The issue before us, namely the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflicts, has assumed greater importance and urgency because of the plague of conflicts, especially in the developing world, including Africa.

Conflicts can be predicted and can therefore be prevented. The Security Council must provide leadership in this regard, with the political will to act.

Preventing conflicts is a long-term process. Because of the multidimensional and multisectoral nature of that process, it demands a wider variety of tools. The tools and mechanisms that can prevent conflicts within States are very much the same ones that can prevent conflicts between States.

I have made reference to leadership. By leadership we mean that the Security Council in particular, the United Nations and the international community in general must adopt a more aggressive approach by giving prevention a higher priority on their agendas. This can be done by adopting rapid-response mechanisms to prevent conflicts before they occur. Such mechanisms include the promotion of democracy, human rights, the rule of law and gender equality. Poverty eradication is a must, as poverty can tempt unemployed young people to join wars, because they have no other choices.

Conflicts and wars have their root causes. Preventing them means that the conditions which give rise to such conflicts must be addressed. Those causes are not necessarily military. Hence to preclude military intervention as a preventive measure, emphasis should be placed on what we describe as preventive development. There are two major components in the preventive development strategy. They are political and economic.

Root causes, as I have said, and the conditions that give rise to armed conflicts need to be identified and addressed. In this regard, the Security Council should assist all efforts to build durable democratic structures and institutions. The bedrock for all such institutions is the protection of human rights for all, the respect and guarantee of the rule of law and freedom of the press and expression. These are the foundations of democratic governance, because they cement democracy and good governance.

Democratic governance includes the decentralization of power, so as to embrace the greater society and the creation of a civil society. It improves government responsiveness and accountability. Building and sustaining political, social, economic and cultural institutions to provide for and cement democracy will go a long way towards preventing conflicts.

Human history has repeatedly shown that political and economic exclusion are the major causes of conflicts within States. On the other hand, policies that emphasize inclusiveness and opportunities for access by all to political power and economic resources are major building-blocks for durable peace.

Allow me at this juncture to refer briefly to the Ugandan policies of political inclusiveness, tolerance and reconciliation. Since the National Movement Government came to power, it has emphasized these important aspects of democracy in order to create a national consensus and to break Uganda's cycle of revenge. We have not succeeded 100 per cent, but the results have been gratifying. Today the country is more united than ever before.

I have necessarily emphasized democracy and the rule of law because conflicts are bred by political, economic and sociological conditions. History has shown that democratic countries do not normally fight each other. This does not mean that they do not have differences, but they resolve their differences through institutional mechanisms, including the observance of the rule of law. It is not an accident that the countries of the West have grown and prospered since the Second World War, because there has been an emphasis on democracy as the core of their shared values.

I have also made reference to the economic preventive strategy. In my view the Marshall Plan, which transformed post-war Europe, was an economic preventive plan to prevent Europe from receding into fascism again or from embracing other ideologies. Durable political institutions need to be buttressed by growing economies whose development emphasizes the improvement of the human condition. Poor distribution of national resources, economic exclusion, persistent poverty and social inequities fuel conflicts.

Before I conclude, let me return to the question of leadership. Conflict prevention demands leadership from the Security Council. Here, of course, I mean the Member States, especially of the industrialized rich nations, who should see the persistence of armed conflicts as a threat to their own security and economic well-being. The Security Council has a role to play in all this because it is accepted today that this Council is much more than a war council. This is why, at the beginning of this year, the Council addressed the horrific problems of HIV/AIDS. Therefore the emphasis henceforth should be on human security.

In this regard, the Security Council of the twenty-first century should see poverty as a threat to security and democracy and sustainable economic development

as the most effective mechanisms to prevent armed conflicts. For these to be put in place, resources will have to be made available. The Security Council should remain seized of the question of resources. Otherwise the prevention of conflicts will remain a dream, difficult to realize.

The President: I thank the representative of Uganda for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the representative of Kenya. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Kahende (Kenya): My delegation would like to associate itself with others who spoke before in commending you, Sir, for convening this important meeting on conflict prevention.

We take the floor because of the importance Kenya attaches to the issue and the issue's bearing, especially on the African continent. Armed conflict has thrown Africa off balance and landed it in the dungeons of death and despair. Armed conflict — together with past injustices and, in recent years, AIDS — can be claimed to be a gigantic enemy of progress in Africa. However, it is a scourge that has united humanity in the desire to control, prevent and end it. This timely meeting is a part of these efforts to promote prevention, rather than to find a cure at a later stage.

The various conflicts taking place on the African continent continue to compound the plight of the African peoples, whose track record up to now in social and economic development remains unenviable. Conflicts and general insecurity have negated peace and development on the continent, as has illicit trafficking in natural resources, especially diamonds, to finance war. These elements only guarantee the pauperization of the people for posterity. An end to conflict in Africa, we believe, is very necessary for socio-economic progress.

Some while back, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) put in place the Central Organ on Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution. The efforts of the Central Organ, working in tandem with regional organizations, have gone a long way towards resolving conflicts and explosive situations on the continent. However, a lot remains to be done and the Security Council has the prerogative of giving a boost to those efforts and of initiating and concluding other measures, including effective peacekeeping.

The commitment of the United Nations, through the Security Council, to conflict prevention, control and resolution is most commendable. We also believe that the principles of good governance and good-neighbourliness should be strengthened, as also must the elimination of other causes of conflict.

Current efforts to deal with the issue of the proliferation of small arms should be undertaken with the urgency they deserve. In Africa, meetings have been held in Addis Ababa and in Nairobi on the subject of small arms, and both meetings underlined the gravity of the problem. It is our sincere hope that a legal and institutional framework will emerge to confront the dangers posed by the illegal accumulation and unlawful possession of small arms.

In instances where conflicts are already taking place, the Security Council must of necessity bring its weight to bear. We call for Africa to be given the same weight as other regions in terms of the speedy deployment and strength of forces.

The issue of conflict prevention, especially in Africa, is complex and the United Nations must continue to work closely, we believe, with the OAU; with such regional organizations as the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development, the Southern African Development Community and the Economic Community of West African States; and with strategic and peace institutions in order to comprehend and thereafter tackle the threat of outbreak of conflicts. Conflicts will be difficult to prevent, however — as other speakers from our region have stated — as long as Africa continues to wallow in poverty and despair. We believe that good governance, participatory democracy, social and economic progress and the principle of good-neighbourliness will, in sum total, prevent conflicts in the end.

The President: I thank the representative of Kenya for his kind words addressed to me.

The next speaker on my list is the representative of Rwanda. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Mutaboba (Rwanda): Thank you, Sir, for giving me the floor. I also take this opportunity to welcome you to New York and to extend our warm congratulations to you and your delegation on your

assumption of the presidency of this organ and for putting this important item on the agenda of the Council.

The United Nations Charter gives us all sorts of guidelines in searching for and maintaining peace and guaranteeing international security the world over. However, experience shows that the Security Council, despite its numerous efforts — if efforts have indeed been collectively made — has for the most part failed to prevent the armed conflicts that disrupt peace and security in the world. While it has recorded success — success that we commend — the number of failures goes far beyond the number of successful achievements. This should incite it not to shy away, but to do more and better.

My delegation believes that such an imbalance of achievements is due to the conservatism of approaches, as if the world had not evolved since the creation of our Organization. People are sometimes scared of being told the truth and of innovations and therefore bluntly refuse to recognize their errors and to rectify their course of action. Much as those who generate conflicts do so in attempting to cling to power and vested interests, this organ's membership sometimes cannot let go of the principle of preserving the status quo, no matter what the consequences. Resistance to change is unfortunate and should not be taken lightly if we genuinely want to change, and for the better, in our endeavours to prevent armed conflicts.

Under paragraph 1 of Article 1 of the Charter, also quoted by Secretary-General Kofi Annan this morning, this Organization has

> "to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace".

Where collective measures have had to be taken to prevent disasters, divisions have occurred among members — we are all human — and where measures have been taken, they have been limited to the mere adoption of resolutions without action. Where blatant evidence of threats to peace and security has been brought to light, action has either not been taken in a timely manner or has been taken shyly and indecisively. This is a grim reality. These series of events have set precedents and we should keep them in mind as our daily checks and balances, rather than reacting, and reacting loosely and defensively, when they are raised and when it is too late. We need to support each other, but we must first accept such change under the leadership of the Security Council.

Maintaining peace and security in the world is nothing but keeping momentum. Billions of bits of information are generated every day for policymakers and decision-takers to work with. What counts is not the volume of information produced, but rather what you do with the information and how you do it.

The tragedies of Rwanda and Srebrenica could have been prevented on the basis of the information available. The situation in the Democratic Republic of the Congo today could have been avoided before it even broke out. Kosovo is another example among many. Preventive diplomacy has its merits and a lack of political will, often ascribed to the international community simply because we do not dare to point a finger at those responsible, has become, unfortunately, the excuse of the century. The political will is there, but it is shaped by the interests of the actors. You therefore cannot prevent conflicts without addressing the issue of double standards, because peace and security are as contagious as conflicts. You harvest what you have sown.

We prevent on the basis of what we know. The knowledge we have becomes the source of inspiration for us to work with and to use imaginatively and from all angles. Failure to use our imagination and collectively to take corrective action will hamper the future prevention of conflicts. I wish to refer to the example of the reports commissioned by this body: the Srebrenica report and the Carlsson report. Both clearly show how the Council could have prevented what happened. Since the day the Carlsson report was deposited with the Security Council, no action has been taken and nothing has been said regarding the recommendations in the report. There has been total silence.

Lessons to be learned cannot be conveniently avoided or further delayed, but should assist in preventing similar mistakes from happening elsewhere. But all signs, actions and reactions show that we still have a long way to go in taking seriously the preventive measures needed to ensure peace and security in the world. Self-criticism should be accepted as a good means of reminding one another that we all care and that every Member of this Organization counts. Catering to all and not just to some will lead us

in a more collective way of addressing world issues as they arise and dealing with them appropriately for the sake of international peace and security. This should be a constant and consistent modus operandi for this Council, for which my delegation wishes to reiterate its full support.

The President: I thank the representative of Rwanda for his kind words.

The next speaker inscribed on my list is the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, Mr. Mokhtar Lamani, to whom the Council has extended an invitation under rule 39 of its provisional rules of procedure. I invite him to take a seat at the Council table and to make his statement.

Mr. Lamani (Organization of the Islamic Conference) (*spoke in French*): I should like at the outset to join previous speakers in congratulating you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month.

I am again honoured to be able to address this Council, and I am particularly pleased to be taking part today in this meeting dedicated to the role of the Security Council in the prevention of armed conflict.

In general, peacekeeping activities have become more complex. They are increasingly multifunctional and cover areas as vast as they are diversified, such as the building or consolidation of institutions, the observation and monitoring of elections, the reconstruction of infrastructure and the disarmament of rival factions.

That is why it is clear that prevention should be one of the main tasks of the United Nations system, because it is less costly in terms of human life and less disastrous for the societies concerned and, indeed, for the whole of humankind. It thus facilitates a transition from a culture of reaction to a culture of prevention. This development has been recognized many times by the Security Council as one of the priority objectives for the future development of the Organization.

Conflict prevention calls for the convergence of very different activities, ranging from early warning to preventive diplomacy, mediation, and reconciliation. But is also requires the adoption of long-term structural measures to tackle the root causes of conflicts, thereby touching on the rehabilitation of the societies concerned, development, the eradication of poverty and the control of arms sales.

Conflict prevention differs from one region to the next, because the causes of conflict also differ from one region to the next. That is why creating effective mechanisms to coordinate both prevention and peace-building activities among United Nations agencies and regional organizations is extremely important, as it would enable us together to face the challenges implicit in effective and sustainable peacekeeping.

The variety of questions to be settled range from political and socio-economic to humanitarian and human rights issues. The participation of regional organizations, as set out in Chapter VIII of the Charter, would make it possible for us to derive benefits from the comparative advantages of every organization.

In this context, I welcome the initiatives of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kofi Annan, to hold periodic meetings with the Secretaries-General of different regional and subregional organizations — such as mine, the Organization of the Islamic Conference — to discuss the part they can play in conflict prevention. I should also like to congratulate him for his idea of creating a high-level panel to be chaired by Mr. Lakhdar Brahimi to undertake an in-depth reassessment of peacekeeping.

We believe these initiatives to be among the most important elements in conflict prevention, management and resolution. Ultimately we must bear in mind that conflict prevention is a field in which more can be done, and done better, and that it is and will remain the supreme responsibility of the Security Council. Joint resolve and clear objectives are therefore required, because activities for peace in different parts of the world are an interdependent and indivisible whole.

The President: I thank the Permanent Observer of the Organization of the Islamic Conference for his kind words.

There are no further speakers inscribed on my list.

The Council has before it the text of a statement by the President on behalf of the Council on the matter on the Council's agenda. In accordance with the understanding reached among the members of the Council, the statement by the President will be issued as a document of the Security Council under the symbol S/PRST/2000/25.

The Security Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 5.50 p.m.